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**The Pedal Harp Tradition in Ireland (c.1790-
1900): Practitioners, Pedagogy, Trade and
Repertoire**

Clare McCague

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Technological University Dublin

Lead supervisor: Professor Clfona Doris

Advisory supervisor: Dr Kerry Houston

October 2021

Declaration

I certify that this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of PhD, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work. This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for postgraduate study by research of the Technological University Dublin and has not been submitted in whole or in part for another award in any other third level institution. The work reported on in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of the TU Dublin's guidelines for ethics in research. TU Dublin has permission to keep, lend or copy this thesis in whole or in part, on condition that any such use of the material of the thesis be duly acknowledged.

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Abstract

This study examines the European pedal harp tradition in Ireland in the period c.1790-1900. Steered by collections of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire, and hinged on data extracted from newspaper archives, it addresses a lacuna in harp-focused scholarship, by illuminating the significance of the pedal harp tradition in nineteenth-century Irish musical life and reviving nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire of Irish interest.

The evolution of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland was influenced by multiple personalities. Foreign pedal harpists, including Nicholas Charles Bochsa (1789-1856), Charles Oberthür (1819-1895) and Aptommas (1829-1913), had a significant impact on the tradition and travelled regularly to Ireland to perform and to teach. Irish pedal harpists with a public profile, including the Ashe sisters (prior to 1850) and Glover sisters (after 1850), tended to be from established musical families. Central to the survival of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland was an amateur pedal harp community from which the demand for teaching, instruments and sheet music emanated.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, pedal harp tuition was taught privately, on a one-to-one basis or in educational facilities for ladies. In the second half of the century, access to tuition was ameliorated through convent schools and the Royal Irish Academy of Music. Over the course of the nineteenth century, demand for pedal harps and sheet music in Ireland was met by a reactive Irish music trade. Pedal harps were sold privately, by practising harpists or in music shops, and appeared in auctions of household furniture. The indigenous manufacture of pedal harps in Ireland was, for the most part, a phenomenon of the period 1800-1850 and was controlled by the Egan family of Dublin.

This study establishes that Boleyne Reeves (1820-1905) was the most successful Irish pedal harpist of the nineteenth century. Born in Cork, Reeves was the only Irish composer, harpist or otherwise, who contributed what have been termed ‘original’ works to the canon of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire. A wider repertoire study, enriched by RISM cataloguing, establishes the existence of a body of nineteenth-century pedal harp works ‘of Irish significance’. These include arrangements, variations and fantasias based on ancient Irish melodies, particularly those popularised by Irish poet and lyricist Thomas Moore (1779-1852). Representative recordings of repertoire of Irish significance, including four compositions by

Reeves, are an integrated component of this study and breathe life into a genre of pedal harp repertoire that is hitherto unaccounted for in contemporary harp scholarship.

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To my sister, Sorcha, brothers Ciarán, Colum and Diarmaid, and extended family and friends, I am profoundly grateful for their love and support. To Matthew, for his encouragement and love. To my parents, Hugh and Joan, to whom I owe a debt of perennial gratitude.

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List of Abbreviations

ACR	Antient Concert Rooms
<i>BCC</i>	<i>Belfast Commercial Chronicle</i>
BNA	British Newspaper Archives
<i>CC</i>	<i>Cork Constitution</i>
<i>DEM</i>	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i>
<i>DEP</i>	<i>Dublin Evening Packet and Correspondent</i>
<i>DEPost</i>	<i>Dublin Evening Post</i>
<i>DMR</i>	<i>Dublin Morning Register</i>
DMT	Dublin Music Trade
<i>DWM</i>	<i>Dublin Weekly Mail</i>
EMIR	<i>Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland</i>
<i>FJ</i>	<i>Freeman's Journal</i>
<i>ILN</i>	<i>Illustrated London News</i>
<i>IT</i>	<i>Irish Times</i>
NLI cat.	National Library of Ireland (catalogued items)
NLI uncat.	National Library of Ireland (uncatalogued items)
n.d.	No date
NLI	National Library of Ireland
RIAM	Royal Irish Academy of Music
RISM	<i>Répertoire International des Sources Musicales</i>
<i>SNL</i>	<i>Saunders' Newsletter</i>
<i>SRCCC</i>	<i>Southern Reporter and Cork Commercial Courier</i>
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
<i>WDWM</i>	<i>Warder and Dublin Weekly Mail</i>

Introduction

This study investigates the European pedal harp tradition in Ireland, imported from London to Dublin in the late eighteenth century. An art-music tradition as opposed to a folk-music tradition, the European pedal harp tradition developed independently of the indigenous ‘Irish harp tradition’ and was initially popularised by foreign pedal harpists who travelled to Ireland from London to perform and teach.¹ These harpists transmitted their skills to Irish students who in turn practised the tradition within Ireland. A vibrant pedal harp trade emerged in Dublin in the early 1800s in response to a burgeoning interest in pedal harp pedagogy and performance. Music shops imported pedal harps for sale and hire, instruments featured in auctions of household furniture, and Irish harp-maker John Egan capitalised on market demand by manufacturing pedal harps in Dublin.

The development of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland between c.1790 and 1900 was contingent on the interaction of multiple personalities, including performers, teachers, tradespeople and concert promoters, the establishment of pedagogical institutions, including private seminaries, the Royal Irish Academy of Music (RIAM) and convent schools, and the marketing of pedal harp performance and teaching through the medium of the Irish press. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the pedal harp tradition became engrained in the fabric of Ireland’s art-music scene, largely concentrated in urban areas. Over time, it eclipsed the Irish harp tradition as the foremost harp tradition in Ireland. In artistic and aesthetic terms, the pedal harp occupied a similar space to the piano and was organically absorbed into Irish drawing-room culture. Central to its

¹In this instance, ‘art music’ instrumental traditions are defined as those in which the music is passed through the medium of formally-notated music. In contrast, ‘folk music’ traditions are those steeped in indigenous practices and cultures that survive by virtue of oral transmission from one generation to the next. In this study, unless otherwise stated, the ‘Irish harp tradition’ or ‘ancient Irish harp tradition’ is defined as the tradition for which the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792 was organised. This event was a concerted attempt to salvage the repertoire and performance practices of the Irish harp tradition that had been practised for several hundred years. For further information on the history of the ancient Irish harp tradition, see Helen Lawlor, Colette Moloney and Barra Boydell ‘Harp, Irish’ in Harry White and Barra Boydell (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland (EMIR)*, (Dublin, 2013), i, pp 464-7; Joan Rimmer, *The Irish Harp* (Irish Amer Book Co, 1984); W.H. Grattan Flood, *The Story of the Harp* (London: Walter Scott Publishing, 1905), Edward Bunting, *The Ancient Music of Ireland: The Bunting Collections* (Dublin: Waltons, 2002), Donal O’Sullivan, *The Life Times and Music of an Irish Harper* (Cork: Ossian, 2001).

survival was a robust amateur tradition of harp playing, fuelled by women from privileged backgrounds for whom the cost of a pedal harp was not prohibitive.

To date, research into the pedal harp tradition in Ireland has largely been an addendum to more detailed studies on indigenous Irish harp tradition(s).² The principal objective of this study is to address this disparity and enrich the field of harp-focused scholarship and, by extension, to contribute to the ever-evolving field of nineteenth-century musicological scholarship. In order to fulfil this objective, four fundamental components of the European pedal harp tradition are considered: practitioners, pedagogy, trade and repertoire.

This research study is guided by three primary research questions:

1. What was the significance of the nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition in Ireland?
2. What do collections reveal about the repertoire of the tradition, including the repertoire of Irish significance?
3. To what extent, if any, was there interaction between the pedal harp tradition and indigenous Irish harp traditions?

Methodology and Remit

The methodological approach adopted in this study is a symbiosis of archival and performance research and is hinged primarily on the examination and interpretation of primary source material. This primary source material consists of collections of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire in Ireland and relevant newspaper content

2 The plural 'traditions' takes account of the fact that, in the nineteenth century, attempts to revive the ancient Irish harp tradition gave rise to what has been retrospectively described as a 'neo-Irish harp' tradition. Practised on larger gut-strung instruments and channelled through the Irish Harp Societies (Dublin, Drogheda and Belfast), the Irish harp tradition that emerged in the nineteenth century was influenced by the burgeoning pedal harp tradition in Ireland and was markedly different from the tradition practised at the Belfast Harp Festival in 1792. Harp-maker John Egan, who manufactured both pedal harps and non-pedal harps, played a pivotal role in prototyping the neo-Irish harp that was popularised in the nineteenth century, and on which subsequent Irish harp revivals were based. See Joan Rimmer, *The Irish Harp* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1984), 62-65. For recent perspectives on the metamorphosis of the 'Irish harp tradition' in the nineteenth century, see, for example, Simon Chadwick, 'Continuity of tradition', www.simonchadwick.net, accessed 10 August 2018; Siobhán Armstrong, 'Exploring Irish harp traditions', review of *Ireland's Harp: The Shaping of Irish Identity c.1770-1780*, by Mary Louise O'Donnell, *The Journal of Music*, 1 April 2015, <https://journalofmusic.com/focus/exploring-irish-harp-traditions>, accessed 10 April 2018.

published within the temporal parameters of this study. Originally this study was conceived as a repertoire-centred venture, the initial premise being to construct an annotated catalogue of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire deemed of Irish interest or relevance. However, by assembling data from repertoire collections and newspaper archives, a significant legacy of nineteenth-century pedal harp activity in Ireland was illuminated. Hitherto untold in contemporary scholarship, it was determined that this narrative merited further investigation, to both contextualise and complement a repertoire study.

In 2014, a scoping exercise was conducted in order to ascertain the existence of collections of nineteenth-century pedal harp music in Ireland. Contact was made with librarians in a number of institutions including Technological University Dublin Conservatoire, University College Dublin, Trinity College Dublin, the Royal Irish Academy of Music, Queen's University Belfast, the Linen Hall Library in Belfast, University College Cork, Cork School of Music (Munster Technological University) and the National Library of Ireland (NLI). Repertoire of interest was located in the NLI (catalogued and uncatalogued items), the RIAM (Louisa Cane Collection, uncatalogued) and in TCD (Townley Hall Collection, uncatalogued). Two private collections of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire were also identified, both of which could be traced to Loreto convent schools. These include a small collection of sheet music in the possession of Dr Sheila Larchet-Cuthbert and five volumes of harp repertoire in the possession of Professor Clíona Doris.

Training in a specific type of music cataloguing, RISM (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*), was undertaken in 2016 in line with the original premise of this study.³ It was initially envisaged that all uncatalogued pedal harp repertoire contained in nineteenth-century Irish music collections would be entered into the RISM database; however, this intention was repudiated for two reasons. Firstly, in the NLI, the organisation of uncatalogued harp scores was not conducive to RISM cataloguing. In some instances, for example, harp scores were arbitrarily contained in volumes of

³ In English, RISM translates as the 'International Inventory of Musical Scores'. It was established in 1952 by the International Musicological Society and International Association of Music Libraries and operates in thirty-five countries around the world. RISM cataloguing projects aim to locate and catalogue all surviving manuscripts, printed scores, writings on music theory and libretti. The results are transmitted to the RISM central database in Frankfurt and these catalogues are primary resources in musicological research. The resulting catalogues have become established as primary research tools for music and are used worldwide by academics, students, performers and others to trace and identify music materials.

predominantly piano music. It was not possible to catalogue these items into RISM without also cataloguing the individual piano scores.⁴ Secondly, the two collections of repertoire associated with Loreto schools are currently in private ownership, which renders them outside the remit of the RISM project.⁵ Of the five collections examined, the Louisa Cane Collection was identified as suitable for RISM cataloguing. This cataloguing project was conducted over several months in the summer of 2016. The forensic nature of this exercise was crucial in guiding archival search parameters, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.⁶

Collections of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire provided tangible evidence of the existence of a pedal harp tradition in Ireland. In order to gain further insight into the pedal harp tradition in Ireland between c.1790 and 1900, an extensive examination of nineteenth-century British and Irish newspaper archives was undertaken. Instances of ‘pedal harp activity’, defined as activity pertaining to performance, teaching and trade, were documented with a view to compiling a chronological narrative of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland. In general, data pertaining to pedal harp activity was extracted from two main sources: advertisements (for teaching, concerts and the sale of instruments) and concert reviews. In cases where concert programmes were printed, usually in the days prior to the event taking place, individual works were documented and collated into a concert repertoire database (Appendix III).

Search parameters entered into the British Newspaper Archive varied from broad (for example ‘harp’) to specific (for example ‘Boleyne Reeves harp’). In many instances, these parameters were informed by data from the collections of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire under investigation. For example, the preponderance of the works of Bavarian composer Charles Oberthür (1819-1895) in the Louisa Cane Collection, in addition to a handwritten dedication from Oberthür to Miss Cane, dated 1857, fuelled an archival investigation into a connection between Oberthür and Ireland. Specific search filters such as ‘dates’ and ‘places’ were chosen on a case-by-case basis and were often

4 RISM requires the totality of a volume of repertoire to be catalogued.

5 The RISM project links musical scores to libraries only and does not account for collections in private ownership.

6 For example; a written dedication from Charles Oberthür to Louisa Cane in 1857, in memory of his visit to Ireland, was evidence that Oberthür had visited Ireland on at least one occasion. A search for ‘Oberthür’ in the digitised British Newspaper Archives was initially confined to 1850–1860, then extended based on the data extracted from this decade. The name ‘Boleyne Reeves’ was first encountered in the Louisa Cane Collection. Reeves’ compositions were not traced to any other Irish collection of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire, however, arrangements of Irish airs insinuated an Irish connection.

guided by extraneous factors, including bibliographical information accessed from other sources.⁷

In parallel with extensive examination of newspaper archives, a representative selection of repertoire of interest was isolated for performance and recording. Of specific interest to this study was pedal harp repertoire ‘of Irish significance’. Based on data observed over the course of this repertoire study, this was broadly divided into two categories:

1. Original repertoire by Irish composers: The word ‘original’ in this instance describes works based exclusively on the composer’s own musical source material as opposed to works derived from pre-existing Irish melodies drawn from collections of Irish music.
2. Arrangements, variations and fantasias on Irish airs composed by Irish and non-Irish composers.

Finally, I uploaded my recordings onto the digital streaming service *Soundcloud*[®] and created a playlist entitled ‘Nineteenth-century repertoire of the Irish pedal harp tradition’. These recordings are considered an integrated component of this thesis.⁸

Literature Review

That little research has been conducted into the pedal harp tradition in Ireland is both an impetus and a hindrance to this study: an impetus in that it indicates a clear lacuna in scholarship, and a hindrance in that there are limited consultative sources for corroboration. The absence of literature on the pedal harp tradition in Ireland places an emphasis on primary source material – in this instance, newspaper data and repertoire collections. To assist with the interpretation of these sources, a contextual foundation was established by consulting a wide range of publications, spanning from those in the general field of ‘harp studies’ to those on the musical life of nineteenth-century Ireland.

Two publications by American harpist and art historian Roslyn Rensch (b. 1923), *The Harp. Its History, Technique and Repertoire* (1969) and *Harps and Harpists* (1989, rev. 2007), continue to underpin contemporary understanding of the development of ‘the harp’

⁷ For example, a search for ‘Loreto harp’ excluded the period 1800 to 1820, as the Loreto order established its first educational institution in Ireland in 1822. A search for ‘Oberthür harp’ excluded 1800–1830, given Oberthür’s biographical dates are 1819–1895.

⁸ These recordings may be accessed at <https://soundcloud.com/clare-mc-cague>

and harp traditions over the course of centuries. In both publications, Rensch dedicates chapters to the evolution of the European pedal harp.⁹ These provide valuable context for the first chapter of this thesis, in which the importation of the pedal harp tradition to Ireland in the late eighteenth century is traced. Rensch does not refer to a pedal harp tradition in Ireland, nor to the fact that a number of the pedal harp virtuosi she discusses travelled to Ireland in a professional capacity during the nineteenth century. In addition, while she considers Irish harp-maker John Egan's influence in the manufacture of non-pedal harps, she neglects to mention his contribution to the field of pedal harp manufacture, for which he was equally renowned.¹⁰ In *The Story of the Harp*, published in 1905, Irish musician and historian William H. Grattan Flood (1857-1928) also omits reference to Ireland's nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition. This is despite the inclusion of a chapter on 'Virtuosi of the Nineteenth Century', five of whom travelled to Ireland.¹¹ Similarly, Flood's references to Egan are not viewed through the prism of the European pedal harp tradition, but rather the 'revival of the Irish harp'.¹² What is also remarkable in *The Story of the Harp*, particularly in light of the fact that Flood is Irish, is the fact that he erroneously conflates the European pedal harp and Irish harp traditions. In his final chapter, entitled 'The Harp in the Orchestra', he hails the fact that Irish composer Michael William Balfe recognised the value of the (pedal) harp in orchestral accompaniments, stating it was 'only natural that Balfe should utilise Erin's national instrument'.¹³ The mistaken concept that the pedal harp was an improved or modern manifestation of an indigenous Irish instrument is an *idée fixe* that permeates this study.

The subject of John Egan and his influence as a harp-maker in the early nineteenth century has attracted detailed scholarship only in recent years. In 1969, ethnomusicologist Joan

9 Roslyn Rensch. 'The European Pedal Harp, 1720-1910' in *The Harp. Its History, Technique and Repertoire* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), 97; Roslyn Rensch. 'From Single to Double-Action' in *Harps and Harpists*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).

10 Rensch focuses on Egan's innovations with respect to 'non-pedal' harps. For example, she refers to harps supplied for the students of Irish harper Arthur O'Neill at the Belfast Harp Society between 1808 and 1813, Egan's 'royal portable' Irish harp, with forked discs that were activated by ditals instead of pedals, and Egan's larger non-pedal harps, which were subsequently copied by many later craftsmen including Melville Clarke Company in New York. See Rensch, *The Harp: Its History, Technique & Repertoire*, 80 & 94 and Rensch, *Harps & Harpists*, 143-145.

11 Examples of foreign virtuosi who travelled to Ireland: Bochsá, Oberthür, Aptommas, Labarre and Parish Alvars. See Chapters 2 and 3.

12 Flood dedicates a chapter to 'The Revival of the Irish Harp' and credits John Egan as the instigator of this revival. He fails to mention Egan in the context of the pedal harp tradition. See William H. Grattan Flood. *The Story of the Harp* (London: Walter, Scott & New York, 1911), 148.

13 Flood cited the harp accompaniment to 'The Light of Other Days' in Balfe's opera 'The Light of Other Days' to illuminate his point. Flood, 70.

Rimmer (1918-2014) dismissed Egan's large wire-strung harps as 'nightmare parodies of the old Irish harp'.¹⁴ Rimmer's negative appraisal of these instruments entered the mainstream of harp doctrine and appears and may have acted as a deterrent to further research. Contemporary research, led by American harpist and historian Nancy Hurrell, has challenged Rimmer's negative opinion on the subject of Egan harps. Hurrell has dedicated recent years to the study of Egan's life, significance and influence, and has compiled an inventory of Egan harps, including Egan pedal harps, contained in museums and private collections in Ireland and throughout the world. The product of her research, a monograph entitled *The Egan Irish Harps. Tradition, patrons and players*, is a welcome addition to the field of Irish harp scholarship; however, Egan's contribution to the development of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland is not in focus, and Hurrell primarily concentrates on Egan's role in the manufacture of non-pedal and portable Irish harps.¹⁵ Irish harpist and researcher Mary Louise O'Donnell has also studied Egan and his impact in the field of harp making in Ireland, although, like Hurrell, her primary perspective on Egan is through the prism of Irish, not European, harp traditions. O'Donnell dedicates a chapter to Egan, entitled 'John Egan: An Inventor and Innovator' in *Ireland's Harp: The Shaping of Irish Identity c.1770-1880*, published in 2014. In the introduction to this text, she underscores a research deficit when she rightfully states, 'to date, research on the Irish harp prior to the nineteenth century has dominated scholarship and there has been no book-length attempt to high-light [*sic*] the importance of the instrument in nineteenth-century Irish society and culture'.¹⁶ This statement, although concerned with the Irish harp, is a reminder of the paucity of nineteenth-century harp scholarship in Ireland and the necessity to redress this balance. Although O'Donnell's references to the pedal harp are, in general, *en passant*, her research is a springboard for this study and paves useful research trajectories. For example, in a chapter entitled 'Cultural Curiosities: The Last of the Blind Irish Harpers', O'Donnell refers to some individual pedal harpists who contributed to the popularity of the pedal harp in Ireland in the first half of the nineteenth

14 Joan Rimmer. *The Irish Harp* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1969), 67.

15 Hurrell's book was published in May 2019 after the main body of this doctoral research was conducted. Her introductory chapter touches on Egan's initial work in the field of pedal harp construction and cites some pedal harp activity in Dublin in the early nineteenth century, including teaching by Miss C. Cooney and Scottish pedal harpist and singer Sophia Dussek (1775-1847). See Nancy Hurrell. 'Strike when the iron is hot' in *The Egan Irish Harps. Tradition, patrons and players* (Dublin: Four Courts Press: 2019), 31-43.

16 Mary Louise O'Donnell. *Ireland's Harp: The Shaping of Irish Identity c.1770-1880* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2014), 4.

century, including Mr Poole, Miss Cheese, Mr Powel, Mr Smith and Mr Blewit. While these citations are incidental in the wider context of her research, they illuminate the fact that the pedal harp tradition was gaining momentum in Ireland in the early nineteenth century. O'Donnell also earmarks the curious labelling of the pedal harp as a 'native' instrument, and describes the phenomenon, deliberately proliferated by John Egan, as a 'clear but misleading amalgamation'.¹⁷

From a biographical perspective, Wenonah Milton Govea's *Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Harpists* is a practical resource book that provides individual accounts of the pedal harpists who dominated the fields of pedal harp performance and pedagogy from 1800 until the last decade of the twentieth century. Govea concludes each biographical account with a bibliography, reflecting the diversity of sources consulted, and these bibliographical sources are, in turn, useful points of reference.¹⁸ In the case of nineteenth-century pedal harpists, Govea also includes a valuable addendum of each harpist's compositional output.¹⁹ However, at no point does she refer to the regular traffic of pedal harpists to Ireland in the nineteenth century. For example, in relation to French pedal harpist Théodore Labarre, Govea refers to tours of England, Switzerland and Italy between 1825 and 1831 but not his two-month residency in Dublin in 1828-1829. The subtext here is that the performances of Europe's leading pedal harpists in Ireland between 1800 and 1900 are unaccounted for or considered of negligible importance in the map of European pedal harp activity.

To gain an appreciation of the social and artistic climate in which the pedal harp tradition evolved in Ireland, a number of texts, authored by Irish musicologists, were consulted. Ita Hogan's *Anglo-Irish Music 1780-1830*, published in 1969, provides an intriguing account of all aspects of Anglo-Irish music, detailing the personalities, concert venues, and societies at the core Ireland's art music scene, within a circumscribed timeframe of fifty years. Hogan confronts readers with the seemingly confounding reality that Ireland, a country with a wealth of folk music, has produced little in the realms of art music. Her hypothesis in this regard is that the development of art music in Ireland was negatively

17 O'Donnell, 93.

18 A case in point is Govea's account of English harpist Elias Parish Alvars (1808-1849), to which she credits some information to Welsh harpist and academic Ann Griffiths. Ann Griffiths (1934-2020) was a respected pedal harpist, composer, teacher and musicologist. See Wenonah Milton Govea. *Nineteenth- and twentieth-century harpists: a bio-critical sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1995), 223.

19 See, for example, list of harp compositions by Théodore Labarre (1805-1870). Govea, 152-153.

impacted by a continuous political climate of instability.²⁰ She also cites the ‘clash of traditions’ between the Anglo-Irish and the native Irish, and asserts that political, social and religious divisions were obstacles to the development of art music in Ireland.²¹ Cultural estrangement is also at the core of Harry White’s *The Keeper’s Recital: music and cultural history in Ireland, 1770-1970*. Although White’s overarching aim is to highlight the function of music as a dynamic agent in the history of Irish ideas, he discusses what he terms the ‘fragmented state of art music in Ireland in the nineteenth century’, and outlines his belief that the development of an autonomous genre of Irish art music was stymied by an ‘enforced intimacy’ between music and politics.²² In studying the repertoire of the nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition in Ireland, and in understanding the distinct lack of ‘original’ Irish compositions, the foundation of both Hogan’s and White’s research is pertinent and provides an important contextual framework.

Derek Collins’ account of ‘Music in Dublin, 1800–1848’, contained in the commemorative text *To Talent Alone: The Royal Irish Academy of Music, 1848–1998*, published in 1998, provides a wealth of information on a multitude of topics, *inter alia*, the leading foreign virtuosi who travelled to Ireland as performers and teachers, the vitality of Dublin’s music trade and the importance of music societies in the expansion of nineteenth-century amateur performance and music appreciation. Given that foreign virtuosi, a robust music trade and the operation of music societies were intrinsic to the development of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland in this time period, Collins’ research provides a helpful backdrop to the third chapter of this thesis, which covers approximately the same time period. More in-depth analysis on nineteenth-century music societies in Dublin has been conducted by Ita Hogan and Catherine Ferris.²³ Ferris’ account of the Philharmonic Society, its idiosyncratic practices, and its founder’s determination to attract first-rate artists to Dublin, is of particular interest to this study, given that the

20 Ita Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music, 1780-1830* (Cork University Press, 1966), xiii.

21 Hogan, xiv.

22 Harry White, *The Keepers’ Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770-1970* (Cork University Press, 1998), 3

23 See, for example, Ita Hogan, ‘Dublin Musical Societies, 1850-1900’, in Patrick Devine and Harry White (eds.): *The Maynooth International Musicological Conference, 1995, Selected Proceedings, Part 2 (Irish Musical Studies vol. 5)* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), 169-178; Hogan, ‘Musical Societies’ in *Anglo-Irish Music*, 73-90; Catherine Ferris, ‘Anacreontic Society’ *EMIR*, 21-22; Catherine Ferris, ‘Philharmonic Society, the’ *EMIR*, 831-832.

Philharmonic Society provided an important platform to many foreign and Irish pedal harpists over the course of its existence.²⁴

In recent years, publications by Susan O'Regan and Roy Johnston have enriched the field of nineteenth-century musicological scholarship by concentrating on the musical life of Ireland's two main provincial cities, Cork and Belfast. O'Regan's *Music and Society in Cork. 1700-1900*, published in 2018, is a broad account of concert life in Cork, compiled through extensive examination of primary source material, largely local newspapers. In her account, O'Regan examines the personalities and infrastructure upon which Cork's musical life depended, including local musicians and tradespeople, visiting foreign virtuosi, music societies, churches and theatres. In early nineteenth-century advertisements, she notes widespread teaching of both pianoforte and harp at private schools for girls.²⁵ O'Regan's map of concert activity is particularly useful in gaining insight into the integration of the pedal harp into Cork music life. She cites a number of instances of pedal harp activity, including a performance, in 1830, by the then ten-year-old Boleyn Reeves (1820-1905).²⁶ Reeves, the subject of the fourth chapter of this thesis, carved out a successful career in the environs of London, and is of profound significance in Irish pedal harp scholarship. O'Regan also refers to the performances of French pedal harpist Nicholas Charles Bochsa (1789-1856), who came to Cork for the first time in 1838, performing five successive nights at Cook Street Theatre.²⁷ Johnson's publication, *The Musical Life of Nineteenth-Century Belfast*, is an extensive exploration of the musical life of Belfast during a period of unprecedented industrial growth. It too contains references to pedal harp activity, including the early nineteenth-century performances in Belfast of pedal harpists Philip Seybold (1802), Madame Dupré (1802) and Sophia Dussek (1802).²⁸ Both Seybold and Dussek were resident in Edinburgh, and their visits to Belfast illuminate the significance of the travel corridor between the two cities, from which many musicians journeyed further to Dublin. O'Regan's and Johnston's publications, periodically referenced throughout this thesis, are blueprints in the interpretation of newspaper data in Irish musicological research and help to illuminate

24 Catherine Ferris. 'The Management of Nineteenth Century Dublin Music Societies in the Public and Private Spheres: the Philharmonic Society and the Dublin Musical Society' *Music and Institutions*, ed. Paul Rodmell (London: Ashgate, 2012), 36-55.

25 Susan O'Regan. *Music and Society in Cork, 1700-1900* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2018), 100.

26 O'Regan, 144.

27 O'Regan, 88.

28 Roy Johnston and Declan Plummer. *The Musical Life of Nineteenth-Century Belfast* (London: Routledge, 2020), 131-2 & 170.

some of the pitfalls of relying on digital archives as opposed to microfilm archives. For example, a digital search for ‘Elouis harp’ in the British Newspaper Archives does not extract references to French harpist Jean Elouis (c.1758- 1833) in Cork between 1800 and 1810, yet O’Regan cites Elouis’ visits to Cork in October 1809 and 1810.²⁹ Similarly, Johnson’s reference to French harpist Madame Dupré performing in Belfast in October 1802 was not encountered in a digital search of the British Newspaper Archives.

In the nineteenth century, the patenting of the double-action pedal harp enabled expansion of the instrument’s harmonic resources, and this had a profound impact on harp composition. The fifth chapter of this thesis explores the repertoire of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland. In preparation of this, Hans Joachim Zingel’s *Harp Music in the Nineteenth Century* was a helpful resource. Zingel’s dystopian sentiment that harp music of the nineteenth century is ‘generally held in low esteem today, considered shallow and of secondary importance’ somewhat dissuades further research on the topic, although there a number of useful pointers that help to contextualise the repertoire study of this thesis.³⁰ For example, Zingel draws attention to the fact that it was performing harpists who dominated the field of nineteenth-century harp composition, and that non-harpists were cautious in writing for a novel and complex instrument that they may not have understood.³¹ Outside of Zingel’s publication, there are no book-length resources on nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire; however, from a contextual point of view, given the interchangeability of the pedal harp and piano at the time, research conducted on nineteenth-century piano music in Ireland is also of interest to this study. An extensive study by Irish pianist and musicologist Úna Hunt on nineteenth-century piano repertoire, based on both catalogued and uncatalogued materials in the National Library of Ireland, is the most detailed of its kind in Irish musicological scholarship. In this study, conducted in 2010, Hunt explores the extent to which Irish airs were incorporated into piano music by Irish and non-Irish composers. What permeates her article on the topic, *The Harpers’ Legacy: Irish National Airs and Pianoforte Composers*, is that the popularity of the *Irish Melodies* of Thomas Moore (1779-1852) was critical in shaping an entire catalogue of nineteenth-century piano repertoire. The repertoire component of this study, detailed in

29 O’Regan, 106.

30 Hans Joachim Zingel *Harp Music in the Nineteenth Century* (Indiana University Press, 1992), 1.

31 It is probably on this premise that Zingel’s has dedicated two separate chapters to repertoire, ‘Virtuoso Harpists Compose for their Instrument’ (Chapter two of five), followed by ‘Non-harpists Write for the Harp’ (Chapter three of five).

Chapter 5, will investigate the extent to which this applied to pedal harp repertoire of Irish significance, composed by Irish and non-Irish composers.

In chronicling the pedal harp tradition in Ireland in the nineteenth century, this study is hinged on data from contemporary newspapers, largely gleaned from reviews of practising musicians and their public performances. As evidenced in the text of O'Regan and Collins, newspapers record the minutia of everyday musical life. There are, however, instances where caution must be exercised in interpreting newspaper content appropriately, and contextual sensitivities must be considered. Irish musicologist Michael Murphy's chapter on 'The Musical Press in Nineteenth-Century Ireland' in *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* is a valuable insight into the practices of nineteenth-century journalists, who were often not qualified to write on musical affairs. Murphy details the extraneous factors that dictated the tone and rhetoric of concert advertisements and reviews in the nineteenth-century press and outlines how impartial music criticism was often eschewed on the basis that a newspapers generated high revenue from concert advertisements. Only in exceptional cases (for example, a performance by someone considered a 'star' performer), and in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, was a music review conducted by someone who was musically literate, as so-called 'penny-a-liners', usually anonymous, were cheaper to employ.³² Another meaningful supplement in relation to the interpretation of newspapers in musicological research is Catherine Ferris' 2012 PhD thesis 'The Use of Newspapers as a Source for Musicological Research: A Case Study of Dublin Musical Life 1840-44.'³³ In this study, Ferris argues that inherent bias should not stymie or impinge the exploitation of the musical press in nineteenth-century musicological research; rather, she attests, that it is possible to construct an informed narrative of musical life in nineteenth-century Ireland if information from newspapers is considered in context and corroborated where possible. The advantage of consulting Ferris' thesis, and of adopting her research approach, is that she draws on and consolidates the work of musicologists who have studied and utilised the musical press in order to create detailed databases of nineteenth-century musical activity.³⁴ Like

32 Michael Murphy, 'The musical press in nineteenth-century Ireland.' *Music in Nineteenth Century Ireland, Irish Musical Studies, Vol.9*, eds. Michael Murphy & Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 254.

33 Catherine Ferris, 'The Use of Newspapers as a Source for Musicological Research: A Case Study of Dublin Musical Life 1840-44.' (PhD Diss., University of Maynooth, 2011).

34 Ferris draws attention to the seminal work of British musicologists Rachel Cowgill, Christina Bashford and Simon McVeigh, in creating a database of nineteenth-century concert life in London using newspaper archives. See <http://www.concertlifeproject.com/methodology.html>, accessed 12 January 2017.

Murphy, Ferris also identifies pitfalls in the various approaches that have been used in the extraction of musical data from newspapers, strongly advocating the transcription of data *verbatim* from newspaper archives, in order to record nuances in this data that otherwise could be lost. This *verbatim* approach was historically advocated by Irish composer and musicologist Professor Brian Boydell who contended that ‘for the sake of period atmosphere, and also since important clues are often contingent on exact wording, quotations, and advertisements from the contemporary newspapers are usually given *verbatim*.³⁵ In this study, the expertise of Murphy, Ferris and Boydell in the interpretation of newspaper data is carefully considered.

Finally, the question of gender is one that pervades this study; on this basis, Jennifer O’Connor’s doctoral dissertation, ‘The Rose of Women in Music in Nineteenth-Century Dublin’ (2010), charting the importance of women as performers and pedagogues in Dublin over the course of the nineteenth century, is a valuable point of reference. O’Connor asserts that the role of women in nineteenth-century Irish society is a neglected area of research, and, through a series of case studies focusing on individual female musicians, argues that women were crucial to the cultivation of a thriving art music scene, not only as performers and pedagogues, but as academics, music tradespeople and organisers of musical events and competitions. Although her case studies do not focus on individual pedal harpists, O’Connor does refer to the trend that, in early nineteenth century Dublin, females were increasingly active in the concert life of the city, notably as pianists and harpists. This study investigates if this trend was perpetuated and examines the role of women in the development of the nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition in Ireland.

Chapter Outline and Appendices

This study encompasses a written thesis, two recording components, which are integrated into Chapters 4 and 5, and three appendices. The written thesis consists of five chapters, summarised as follows:

Chapter 1 is the contextual foundation of this study. Beginning with an overview of the development of the pedal harp in Europe in the eighteenth century, this chapter traces the

³⁵ Brian Boydell. *A Dublin Music Calendar* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988), 27.

origins of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland, considers the personalities at the heart of the tradition, and investigates the social and cultural *milieu* within which the pedal harp tradition was stationed.

Chapters 2 and 3 consider the pedal harp tradition in Ireland between c.1790 and 1900 through three individual lenses: performance, teaching and trade. These chapters, which are structured in the same way, chart Irish and foreign pedal harpists who performed and taught in Ireland, examine the delivery of pedal harp tuition, and investigate the manufacture, sale and supply of pedal harps in Ireland. Both chapters are supported by Appendix II, which compiles advertisements for the sale of pedal harps, extracted from newspapers, between c.1790-1900.

Chapter 4 is a case study on harpist Boleyne Reeves (1820–1905), who, through this study, has been established as the most successful Irish pedal harpist of the nineteenth century. Reeves was the only Irish-born pedal harpist to contribute original compositions to the genre of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire. This chapter consolidates information compiled on Reeves, evaluates his legacy as a harpist and composer, and revives a representative sample of his compositions.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to the repertoire of the nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition in Ireland and is based on five collections of repertoire identified in the scoping study and a concert repertoire database (Appendix III). The purpose of this chapter is to gain insight into the repertoire performed by Irish pedal harpists over the course of the nineteenth century, to trace the influence of foreign pedal harpists who visited Ireland on the repertoire performed in Ireland, and to extract and perform repertoire of Irish significance. A recording completes this chapter and contains a representative sample of pedal harp works of Irish significance.

Three appendices support the contents of the written thesis as follows:

Appendix I contains illustrations, with accompanying explanations, of representative samples of the Louisa Cane RISM catalogue.

Appendix II, outlined in table format, illuminates the sale and supply of pedal harps in Ireland between c.1790 and 1900. An accompaniment to Chapters 2 and 3, it captures the extent to which the pedal harp trade was concentrated in urban areas and identifies the types of pedal harps in circulation over the course of the nineteenth century, including

single- and double-action instruments, new and second-hand instruments, and instruments manufactured within and outside Ireland.

Appendix III, also outlined in table format, is a concert repertoire database, compiled by extracting repertoire from nineteenth-century concert advertisements and reviews. The purpose of this table is to illuminate trends in the repertoire performed by Irish pedal harpists in the nineteenth century and to capture the role of the pedal harp in the transmission of Irish airs, for which it was habitually mislabelled as a ‘native’ instrument.

Chapter 1. Context

1.1 The European pedal harp: origins and development

The term ‘pedal harp’ incorporates two types of instrument: the single-action pedal harp, which can be traced back to c.1720, and the double-action pedal harp, officially patented in 1810. The concept of adding pedals to harps is generally credited to Bavarian harp maker Jacob Hochbrucker (1673-1763). Hochbrucker’s template for the first pedal harp was the ‘hook harp’ that originated in Austria in the late seventeenth century. The hook harp incorporated metal U-shaped hooks, also known as *crochets*, along its neck, which could be individually manipulated by hand to tighten a string, thereby altering its pitch. A drawback of this instrument was that, in order to introduce an accidental or change key, a harpist had to disengage one hand from playing position. Hochbrucker’s solution was a mechanism that connected the hooks to foot pedals via metal rods that ran through the harp’s pillar. When a pedal was depressed, the hook moved horizontally towards the neck of the harp, where it pushed the string against a fixed nut, thereby shortening (sharpening) it.

Hochbrucker’s single-action pedal harp was introduced to France in the 1740s and, in the ensuing decades, France was the European nucleus of pedal harp activity.¹ Two pedal harp makers, Jean Naderman (1734-1799) and Georges Cousineau (1760-1836), operated in Paris in the second half of the eighteenth century, and significantly improved and expanded the field of harp manufacture. While Naderman manufactured pedal harps based on Hochbrucker’s principles, Cousineau devised an alternative hooking device, termed a *béquile*, which was found to be more effective from the point of view of tuning and sound quality.² *Béquiles* were pairs of crutch-ended levers that, when engaged, pinched the string from opposing directions, ensuring that it was not misaligned when tightened by a pedal movement.

¹ Rensch claims that the pedal harp was introduced to France by a German called Stecht but notes that Phillip Meyer has also been credited with introducing the instrument to France. See Rensch, *The Harp. Its History, Technique and Repertoire*, 99.

² Govea, 207.



Figure 1.1 Hockbrucker's single-action pedal harp³



Figure 1.2 Cousineau's béquille mechanism⁴

Throughout this period of innovation and expansion, France was home to Europe's leading pedal harpists, including Phillip Joseph Hinner (1754-1805), Jean Baptiste Krumpholtz (1742-1790), his student Anne-Marie Steckler (1766-1813) and François Naderman (1781-1835). These harpists performed in public to acclaim and generated publicity for what was then a novel instrumental tradition. In addition, they composed new material for the pedal harp that was published and disseminated to their students.⁵ Extant artwork is a pictorial insight into the eighteenth-century pedal harp tradition, and archetypal images depict women playing ornately decorated instruments in drawing-room

³ Photo by Jean-Marc Anglès, copied from the website of Musée de la Musique. See <https://collectionsdumusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/doc/MUSEE/0899485>, accessed 10 July 2018.

⁴ Image drawn by the author.

⁵ For a comprehensive catalogue of eighteenth-century pedal harp compositions, see Mark Palkovic. *Harp Music Bibliography: Compositions for Solo Harp and Ensemble* (Indiana University Press: 1995).

or salon settings.⁶ One of the most high-profile amateur female amateur harpists of the period was Queen Marie Antoinette of France (1755-1793), said to have been a competent performer. A student of Hinner, she acquired pedal harps from both Naderman and Cousineau.⁷



Figure 1.3 Marie Antoinette with her pedal harp (c.1774)⁸

1.2 The pedal harp tradition: Migration from Paris to London

The westward movement of the pedal harp tradition in Europe, namely the reconcentration of both players and manufacturers in London, has been attributed to the tumultuous political climate in France, precipitated by the French Revolution. Strasbourg-born Sébastien Érard (1752-1831) came to Paris in or around 1768. Having

6 Examples include ‘Self Portrait with a Harp’ by Rose Adélaïde Ducreux, c.1791, ‘Portrait of Elizabeth Ewer’ by Angelica Kauffmann, c.1768-1773, ‘La jeune musicienne’ by Michel Garnier c.1788, ‘The Harp Lesson by Jean Antoine’ Théodore Giroust, c.1791.

7 Jean Henri Naderman (1734-1799) manufactured a pedal harp for Marie Antoinette a pedal harp for her nineteenth birthday in 1774. This harp is now part of a collection in the Musée Municipal de Vendome in France. Cousineau was appointed harp maker to Marie Antoinette in 1775. An image of a Cousineau pedal harp from this period can be viewed on the Victoria & Albert Museum website <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O58969/pedal-harp-cousineau-georges/>, accessed 17 Feb 2018.

8 Painting by Jean-Baptiste Gautier Dagoty (1740-1786). The original of this artwork is housed in the Museum of the History of France at the Palace of Versailles collection.

apprenticed with a harpsichord maker, Érard developed an interest in piano making and went on to establish a successful business with his older brother Jean-Baptiste.⁹ On relocation to London in 1790, Érard focused on addressing the ‘complicated’ mechanism of the pedal harp, which he purported to have refined in 1791.¹⁰ In 1792, he established a harp-making business at 18 Great Marlborough Street, central London. In later years, this was operated by his nephew, Pierre.¹¹ Within two years of establishing this business, Érard had patented a replacement device for Cousineau’s *béquille* mechanism.¹² This device, termed a *fourchette*, was a two-pronged disc that rotated when a pedal was engaged, pinching a string from opposing directions. Érard’s *fourchette* mechanism was a technological masterstroke and enabled a more seamless transition from natural to sharp and vice versa.

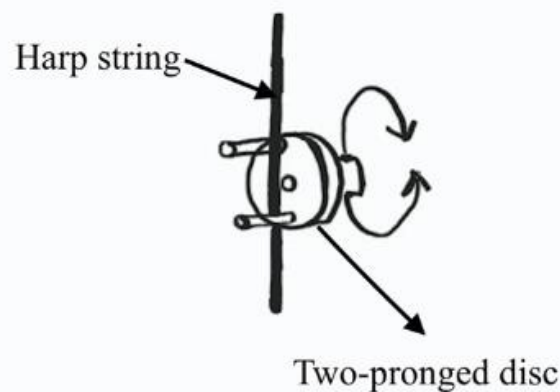


Figure 1.4 Érard’s *fourchette* mechanism⁴⁸

9 R Adelson, Alain Roudier, J Nex, Laure Barthel, M Foussard , eds. *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp in Letters and Documents 1785-1959* (London: Cambridge University Press), 139.

10 Érard stated in a letter dated 18 Feb 1791: ‘the mechanism of the pedal harp is too complicated; I have changed it and simplified it’. Adelson et al, 140.

11 Rosemary Margaret Hallo, ‘Erard, Bochsa and their impact on harp music-making in Australia (1830-1866): An early history from documents’ (PhD., diss, University of Adelaide, 2013), 22.

12 Rensch, *The Harp Its History Technique and Repertoire*, 101.

48 Image drawn by author.

When tuned in E flat major, as it regularly was, the single-action pedal harp had a harmonic compass of seven major and five minor keys.⁴⁹ In 1810, Érard patented a ‘double-action’ mechanism, incorporating two *fourchette* discs. This gave each string three, as opposed to two, pedal positions: a flat, natural and sharp position. With an enlarged spectrum of chromatic and harmonic possibilities, the double-action pedal harp facilitated development and experimentation in terms of the repertoire that was composed. Championed by Europe’s leading pedal harpists, notably Nicholas Charles Bochsa (1789-1856), the double-action pedal harp was gradually adopted and accepted as the superior instrument in professional circles.⁵⁰

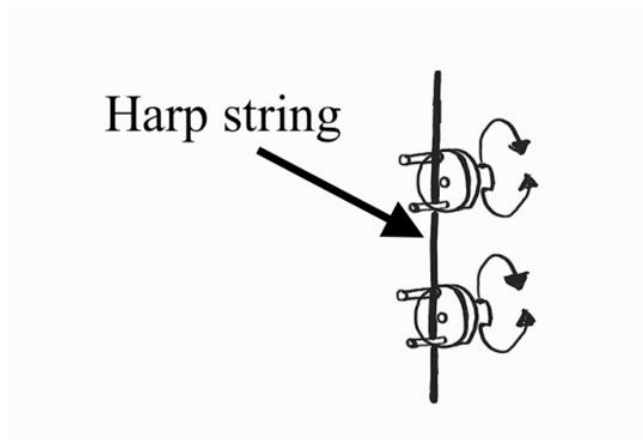


Figure 1.5 Double-action pedal harp mechanism⁵¹

Érard’s relocation to London and the establishment of his harp factory on Great Marlborough Street was pivotal in centralising the development of the pedal harp tradition in London, to which Dublin was closely aligned. London was also home to Europe’s leading pedal harpists for varying periods of time, including Belgian harpist François Dizi (1780-1840), who first travelled to London in 1796, and French harpists Nicholas Charles Bochsa (1789-1856) and Théodore Labarre (1805-1870), who came to London in 1817 and 1823 respectively. These harpists spent prolonged periods in London and were influential figures in the development of the pedal harp tradition, as performers, teachers

49 Up to three flats and four sharps and the corresponding relative minors, with the exception of B minor and F sharp minor.

50 Bochsa probably acquired a double-action pedal harp in Paris in 1812, five years before his emigration from Paris to London. See Hallo, 22.

51 Image drawn by author.

and composers.⁵² Bochsa, in particular, attracted unprecedented levels of publicity for the pedal harp at what was a critical juncture in the development of the instrument. A phenomenally skilled performer, he was perfectly placed to showcase the newly invented double-action pedal harp to its full potential.⁵³

1.3 The evolution of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland

1.3.1 Early performances

French harpist Philip Jacques Meyer (1737-1819) is said to have introduced the pedal harp to London in 1772, almost forty years before the invention of the double-action pedal harp.⁵⁴ Meyer initially became proficient on the hook harp while training to be a Protestant clergyman in Strasbourg in the late 1750s.⁵⁵ He subsequently moved to Paris and studied pedal harp, then in its infancy as an instrument, under Christian Hochbrucker, nephew of harp-maker Jacob.⁵⁶ In 1775, within three years of Meyer's début in London, the pedal harp was introduced to Dublin when a gentleman by the name of Mr Jones performed at a grand concert of vocal and instrumental music at the Rotunda.⁵⁷ Three months later, a benefit concert for Mr Jones was held at the Music Hall on Fishamble Street.⁵⁸

It was over ten years after Mr Jones' performances in Dublin that more tangible foundations of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland were laid. From 1789 onwards, advertisements for harp lessons and the sale of pedal harps appeared in the Irish press, although until 1800 these were rare and sporadic. Mr Lewis, whose nationality is not

52 Francois Dizi came to London in 1796 at the age of fifteen. He returned to Paris in 1830. Bochsa settled in London in 1817 and made London his base until c.1847, when he emigrated to New York with his mistress, the famed soprano Anna Bishop. Théodore Labarre came to London in 1824 and returned sporadically many times over the course of his career. His last visit was to London was in 1867. For bibliographical information on these harpists, see Wenonah Milton Govea, *Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Harpists: A Bio-critical Sourcebook*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995).

53 See Chapter 2.

54 Meyer performed at a concert held at London's Hanover Square Rooms. See Philip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans. *A biographical dictionary of actors, actresses, musicians, dancers, managers & other stage personnel in London, 1660–1800* (Illinois: Carbondale), 209.

55 Govea, 194-195.

56 In 1863, Meyer published his *Méthode de la Harpe*, which became a valuable manual in harp pedagogy for many years. Govea, 194-195.

57 Among the instrumental items were a violin concerto performed by Mr Vachon, a concerto by Mr Patria (possibly an oboe concerto as Mr Patria was also known as Hautbois), and 'a new concerto on the fagoto by a celebrated performer lately arrived here'. *SNL*, 15 September 1775.

58 The Music Hall on Fishamble Street in Dublin's south inner city was built for the Bull's Head Musical Society and was opened in 1741. On 13 April 1742, George Frederic Handel's *Messiah* was premiered at the venue.

known, was the first person to advertise pedal harp tuition in Dublin in June 1789.⁵⁹ Advertisements for Lewis' teaching were printed six months prior to his arrival in Dublin in order to give potential students – notably 'ladies' – ample time to source pedal harps from London or Paris.⁶⁰ Elizabeth Mountain was the first female pedal harp teacher in Ireland and was first referred to as a 'professor of the pedal harp' in 1792.⁶¹ A daughter of violinist Henry Mountain, who operated a music shop on Grafton Street in Dublin, Miss Mountain was referred to by her married name, Mrs Kearns, from 1793 onwards.⁶²

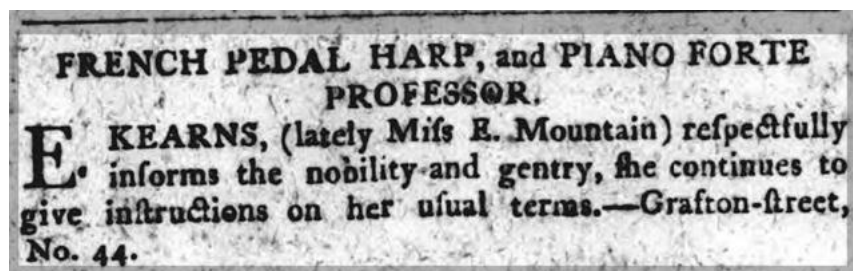


Figure 1.6 Advertisement: SNL, 15 November 1794

Between 1790 and 1800, a small number of foreign pedal harpists are noted to have performed in Ireland. Philip Meyer junior (1779-1849), son of the elder Mr Meyer who introduced the pedal harp to England, performed at least three times at the Theatre Royal on Crow Street in Dublin in 1792.⁶³ In 1795, a benefit concert was held for pedal harpist Master Philip Seybold, then nine years old, at the Rotunda.⁶⁴ Seybold, like Meyer, was son of a harpist. His father, Philip Seybold, was Edinburgh's first resident performer and teacher on the pedal harp in the early 1800s.⁶⁵ In 1801, six years after his son's performances in Dublin, Seybold senior was one of the first pedal harpists to visit Belfast.⁶⁶ In his 1840 edition of *The Ancient Music of Ireland*, Edward Bunting (1773-1843) described Seybold as 'the celebrated performer on the pedal harp' who, on

59 See Chapter 2 for a more detailed account of Mr Lewis.

60 *SNL*, 24 & 26 June 1789.

61 *DEPost*, 24 July 1792.

62 *DEPost*, 17 August 1792.

63 Concert for the Benefit of Mr Meyer, Jun. at which he performed a 'sonata on the pedal harp' between the two acts of the opera 'Artaxerxes' by Thomas Arne. *DEP*, 7 August 1792. Meyer also performed at two of Madame Mara's concerts at the same venue on 20 July and 1 August. See *DEP*, 20 July & 2 August 1792.

64 *SNL*, 24 February 1795.

65 John Leonard Cramer. 'Concert Life and the Music Trade in Edinburgh c.1780-c.1830.' (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1991), 103.

66 Seybold was also in Belfast in 1801. See Johnson, 91.

attending ‘a gentleman’s house’ in Belfast in 1800, was beguiled by the ornamentation of renowned Irish harper Arthur O Neill (c1726-1816).⁶⁷ Bunting wrote:

The late Mr Seybold, the celebrated performer on the Pedal Harp, being in a gentleman’s house in Belfast, in 1800, when Arthur O’Neill was present, declared his admiration of the old man’s shake on the Irish harp, which was performed apparently with the greatest ease and execution; admitting that he could not do it himself in the same manner on his own instrument, the shake being of the greatest difficulty in every species of harp.

1.3.2 Ireland’s pedal harp trade

In the 1790s, music businesses reacted to the inchoate pedal harp tradition in Ireland by importing instruments for sale and hire. Edmond Lee was a sheet music and instrument seller based at 2 Dame Street in Dublin from 1777-1821, and the son of Samuel Lee, a prominent violinist and conductor who was active in Dublin in the 1760s and 1770s.⁶⁸ Lee began to import pedal harps in 1790 and continued to stock them at his music shop until at least 1810.⁶⁹ Advertisements were sparse in detail, with neither harp maker nor harp price specified. For example, an advertisement in the *Dublin Evening Post* in June 1790 listed ‘a large assortment of barrel organs and pedal harps’ among the instruments that Lee stocked.⁷⁰ Meanwhile an advertisement in *Saunders’ Newsletter* in June 1797 stated that Lee had a ‘variety of pedal harps’ for sale.⁷¹

In 1793 and 1794, both Lee and his brother John, who established a separate music business at 70 Dame Street in 1789, opted to sell pedal harps through a public raffle system. The concept of a raffle was that individuals interested in participating bought a ticket at a predetermined price, with the draw itself taking place when a fixed number of subscribers had purchased tickets. Three separate raffles for pedal harps by French maker Cousineau, organised by the Lee brothers between March 1793 and April 1794, are an insight into market value of instruments at the time. In March 1793, John Lee initiated a raffle for a pedal harp to be held as soon as the quota of thirty-five subscribers, paying one guinea each, was reached.⁷² This quota was reached within three weeks of Lee placing

67 See Edward Bunting. *The Ancient Music of Ireland* (Dublin: Hodges & Smith, 1840), 73.

68 Samuel Lee was a member of the City Music from 1745, subsequently becoming bandmaster. As leading violinist he was in charge of music at Marlborough Bowling Green during the 1750s, appeared regularly at Crow Street Theatre, and frequently conducted the annual *Messiah* performances at Fishamble Street. In addition, he was active as a music printer, publisher and seller and conducted a business at 2 Dame Street between 1769-1776. See Boydell, ‘Lee, Samuel (ii)’ in *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/264>, accessed 10 March 2018.

69 Last advertisement traced was *SNL*, 4 June 1810. The address listed as 2 Dame Street.

70 *DEPost*, 19 June 1790.

71 *SNL*, 15 June 1797. Advertisement states that Lee had a ‘variety of pedal harps’ for sale or hire.

72 Advertisements in *SNL* noted on 16, 18, 19, 22, 25, 26, 27 & 28 March 1793.

the advertisement in *Saunders' Newsletter*.⁷³ In June 1793, Edmond initiated a similar raffle, although this time the quota of subscribers was set at twenty-four persons, each paying two guineas.⁷⁴ Finally, in April 1794, Edmond organised a raffle for a pedal harp for fifty subscribers, each paying one guinea.⁷⁵ Selling a pedal harp through a raffle system was a clever marketing tactic. For an instrument worth in the region of thirty-five to fifty guineas, one or two guineas per ticket was a small price to pay, particularly when the number of subscribers was limited. For the seller, raffles presumably ensured that importation costs and other overheads were met at a time when the market demand for pedal harps was not fully established. In 1802, Irish harp maker John Egan may have been the last music shop owner to facilitate a raffle for a pedal harp in Ireland. An advertisement in *Saunders' Newsletter* described this instrument as 'by one of the best makers in Paris.'⁷⁶

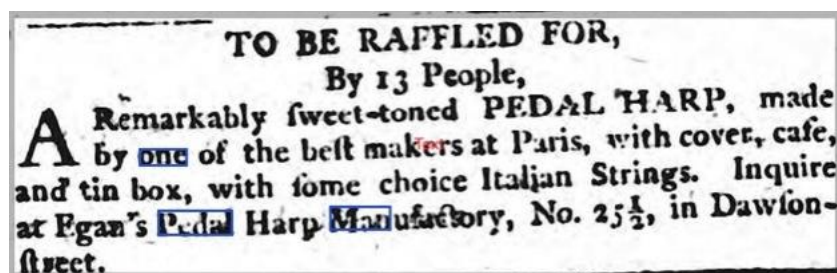


Figure 1.7 Advertisement: *SNL*, 15 May 1802

Aside from the Lee brothers, at least two other music shops facilitated the sale of pedal harps in Dublin prior to 1800. Bartholomew Cooke, a violinist with a music shop at 4 Sackville Street, sold and hired pedal harps between 1794 and 1796, although, again, advertisements do not specify the harp maker.⁷⁷ Cooke was succeeded in business by George Gough who continued to sell pedal harps, again of unknown provenance, until 1806.⁷⁸ Ireland's first female pedal harp teacher, Elizabeth Mountain (later Mrs Kearns),

73 Advertisement to say quota reached and raffle to be held on 9 April 1793. See *SNL*, 5 & 8 April 1793.

74 *SNL*, 11 April 1794. Note: The Lee brothers split their business in 1789. *SNL*, 12 January 1789.

75 *SNL*, 11 April 1794.

76 *SNL*, 15 May 1802.

77 'Pedal harps for sale or hire'. *DEPost*, 5 January 1796. See also *DEP*, 4 November 1794 when Cooke announced that he imported, among other instruments, some 'capital' pedal harps.

78 See advertisement for auction of musical instruments and sheet music (the stock of George Gough's music business) at 4 Sackville Street. *SNL*, 8 February 1805. This advertisement states that Mr Gough is retiring for health reasons. The stock listing includes pedal harps, fortepianos, barrel organs, cellos, violins, French horns. An advertisement from 1806 that mentions pedal harps may be retrieved in *SNL*, 18 January 1806. Boydell notes that Gough was active in Dublin as 1797–1807. See Boydell. 'Gough, George' in *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/169>, accessed 10 May 2019.

began to import pedal harps in 1792, and initially sold them at her father's music shop at 44 Grafton Street.⁷⁹ On his retirement in 1794, Mr Mountain was succeeded in business by his daughter and her husband Joseph Kearns, and the family music shop was operational until 1803.⁸⁰ Prior to 1800, the source of Kearns' pedal harps was not articulated in advertisements; instead, they were described vaguely as 'fine toned French pedal harps' or from 'the very best makers in Paris'.⁸¹ In later years, Mrs Kearns and her daughter, who was also a pedal harpist, imported Érard pedal harps to Dublin. They continued to do so until the late 1840s.⁸²

Érard harps were in circulation in Ireland from about 1802 onwards; however, nebulous descriptions of pedal harps as being 'French' or 'from the greatest makers in Paris' prior to 1800 has made it difficult to pinpoint their exact origin in Ireland. Two French harpists, Madame Dupré and her student Mademoiselle Champenois, are known to have sold Érard harps in Ireland between 1802 and 1804. In March 1802, the *Belfast Newsletter* reported that Dupré had arrived in Belfast to give lessons on the pedal harp and to sell 'Erard's celebrated pedal harps.'⁸³ Within weeks, Dupré had performed at the Rotunda in Dublin, taking up residence at 4 Pitt Street.⁸⁴ An Érard harp, made for 'Miss Dupree of Dublin' has been traced to The Holburne Museum in Bath, Somerset. A description on the museum's webpage reveals that the instrument was made in 1802 at a cost of £73.10s.0d, including two guineas extra for pink and blue flowers, painted along the harp's soundboard.⁸⁵ While no reference to Chamepenois performing in Ireland has been traced, she too resided at 4 Pitt Street in Dublin. Advertisements in the Irish press reveal that she taught pedal harp and facilitated the sale of 'several' Érard instruments from this address in 1804.⁸⁶

79 *DEPost*, 28 July 1792.

80 See Brian Boydell. 'Kearns, Joseph' in *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/234>, accessed 10 January 2020.

81 *DEPost*, 28 July 1792 & 11 August 1792.

82 See *DEPost*, 13 March 1824 'A superb harp, made by Sebastien Erard, expressly for Miss Kearns, to be seen at her house, 83 Lower Mount Street.'

83 Dupré presented herself as 'an élève of Krumpholtz'. This was probably French pedal harpist and composer Annemarie Krumpholtz (1766-1813). See Johnson, 58.

84 Programme for concert printed in *SNL*, 27 April 1802.

85 This was equivalent to 70 guineas at the time. The Holburne Museum is located in Bath, Somerset. Information available at: <https://www.holburne.org/erard-harp/>, accessed 2 September 2020. Note the spelling of 'Dupree' in this instance. The spelling of the surname is not always consistent in newspaper archives. See 'Dupree', for example, *SNL*, 20 April 1802; 'Dupre' in *SNL*, 29 November 1803.

86 *SNL*, 3 January 1804 Note that Dupré died in Cork in 1803. *SNL*, 29 November 1803.

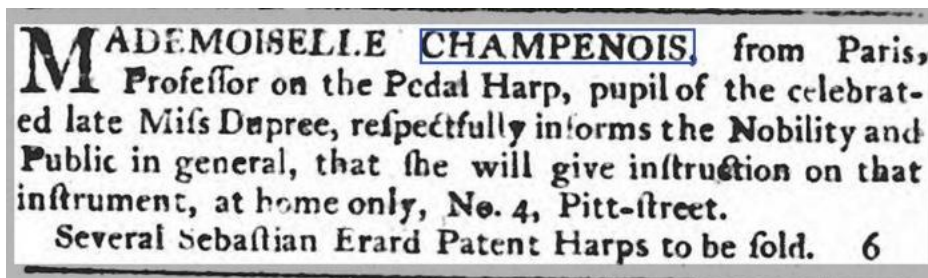


Figure 1.8 Advertisement: SNL, 3 January 1804

A survey of advertisements for the sale of pedal harps in Ireland between 1790 and 1810 reveals that there were a variety of instruments in circulation, by French and English harp makers alike. By 1810, harps by Cousineau, Érard, Meyer, Seybold and Erat had been sold in Dublin and in Belfast, by private sale, in music shops and in auctions of household furniture.⁸⁷ Officially, the entry of an Irish harp maker to the market was in 1802, when John Egan (?-1829) established a workshop on Dawson Street in Dublin.⁸⁸

1.3.3 Pedal harp makers in Ireland

Importation of pedal harps to Dublin in the 1790s by the Lee brothers, Bartholomew Cooke and Elizabeth Mountain suggests that there was an emerging consumer base at this time. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, this trend continued, and pedal harps were acquired by a number of prominent music businesses in Dublin city centre, including William Power's on Westmoreland Street (1802), Southwell's on North Earl Street (1803), Rhames' on Exchange Street (1804), Gough's on Sackville Street (1805-1806), Holden's on Parliament Street (1806) and McCalley's on Moore Street (1808).⁸⁹ Second-hand instruments were also available on the private market and at auctions of household furniture.⁹⁰

John Egan's *entrée* into the field of pedal harp manufacture in the early 1800s, when the popularity of the instrument was increasing, was impeccably timed. According to Irish novelist Sydney Owenson (c.1781-1859), Egan was working as a blacksmith's apprentice

87 See Appendix II. Jacob Erat (1758-1821) was the second largest harp maker in London during the nineteenth century. Following Jacob's death, his sons succeeded him in business. For detailed accounts of London-based pedal harp manufacturers in the nineteenth century, see Mike Baldwin. *Harp Making in Late-Georgian London* (Bright Light: London, 2020).

88 SNL, 11 May 1802.

89 See Appendix II.

90 See Appendix II.

when ‘a chance threw in his way a French harp’.⁹¹ Intrigued by the beauty and mechanics of the instrument, Egan saw an opportunity to craft his own.⁹² In 1802, he established a ‘pedal harp manufactory’ at 25½ Dawson Street, Dublin.⁹³ In the ensuing decades, this business flourished as Egan met a demand for pedal harps in Ireland and further afield. High-profile clients and patrons bolstered Egan’s reputation and granted him access to elite social circles. In 1809, he was commissioned to make a pedal harp for the Duchess of Richmond, Charlotte Lennox. Mrs Lennox was wife of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Charles Lennox.⁹⁴ In 1816, he was patronised by the Duchess of Dorset in Kent, England, and in 1817 by the Countess of Talbot in Dublin.⁹⁵ Arguably Egan’s greatest coup was the endorsement of French pedal harpist Nicholas Charles Bochsa (1789-1856), who placed an order for two of Egan’s pedal harps in 1821.⁹⁶ The same year, Egan was awarded the prestigious royal warrant, and appointed harp maker to King George IV and family.⁹⁷

For up to fifteen years, Egan manufactured pedal harps of single-action construction, based on Érard’s *fourchette* mechanism.⁹⁸ In January 1817, he launched his double-action harp, which he promoted through lengthy and effusively worded advertisements in the Irish press.⁹⁹ Claiming to sell these instruments at ‘nearly half of what harps imported usually sell for’, he also offered customers a five-year guarantee on new instruments purchased.¹⁰⁰ Egan provided an extensive range of specialised services at his workshop, not limited to instruments that he had manufactured himself. These included repair work, tuning, gilding, painting, varnishing and restringing instruments. In addition, he

91 Sydney Owenson. *Patriotic Sketches of Ireland* (Connaught: Kessinger, 1809), 116.

92 Owenson, 116.

93 *SNL*, 11 May 1802.

94 The Lord Lieutenant was the King or Queen’s representative in Ireland. The post existed from 1690 until the Irish Free State was formed in 1922. His official place of residence was the Viceregal Apartments at Dublin Castle.

95 ‘We are very much gratified by observing in the Exports of the 11th instant to London, another pedal harp manufactured by our countryman Egan of Dawson-Street, which equally convinces us of the prime workmanship and moderate price, and we have heard with pleasure, that her Grace of Dorset patronizes this ingenious artist.’ *DEPost*, 18 July 1816. *SNL*, 18 October 1817.

96 See Chapter 2.

97 After obtaining the royal warrant in 1821, advertisements for Egan’s business highlighted his royal association. See, for example, *DEP*, 3 November 1825. Advertisement reads ‘John Egan, Harp-Maker, by Authority of the Royal Warrant, to His Majesty George IV, her Royal Highness the Princess Augusta, and the Royal Family.’

98 Egan manufactured a variety of harps, including lever harps and portable harps. For a detailed account of the Egan harps, see Mary Louise O’Donnell. ‘John Egan An Innovator and Inventor.’ in *Ireland’s Harp The Shaping of Irish Identity c.1770-1880* (UCD Press: Dublin, 2014), 87-105. See also Appendix II.

99 See, for example, *DEPost*, 7 & 9 Jan 1817.

100 See, for example, *DEPost*, 7 & 9 January 1817.

facilitated the sale of second-hand instruments, and rented instruments to students and concertising harpists on a nightly, weekly or monthly basis.¹⁰¹



Figure 1.9 Egan single-action pedal harp¹⁰²

As a pedal harp maker in Ireland, Egan's business was uncontested, and he had no meaningful competition in his lifetime. In 1816, W. O Reilly established a harp, violin and piano manufactory at 12 Trinity Street, Dublin.¹⁰³ The term 'manufactory' insinuates on-site production of instruments. However, no pedal harps by any other Irish maker are extant from this period, suggesting that 'manufactory' was either a misnomer or that O'Reilly's production of pedal harps was insignificant. In December 1816, Pierre Érard travelled to Dublin from London and established a harp warehouse at 2 Lower Sackville

101 See, for example, *DEPost*, 7 January 1817.

102 Photograph copied with permission from the website of the Irish Linen Centre and Lisburn Museum, Co. Down. This instrument was donated to this institution in June 2001. Hurrell suggests that its date of manufacture was 1821. See Nancy Hurrell, 276. The instrument was performed on by the author in a recital at the Lisburn Centre in October 2019.

103 Brian Boydell. 'O Reilly, W' in *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/353>, accessed 10 January 2020.

Street.¹⁰⁴ In October 1817, the business was described in the Irish press as a ‘harp manufactory’; however, the terminology is again misleading, as Érard’s pedal harps were manufactured in London and subsequently shipped to Dublin.¹⁰⁵

Érard’s letters to his uncle Sébastien, who was then living in Paris, are a fascinating insight into the context of his Irish operations. In the first instance, the Érard company in London was owed a substantial sum of money by a Dublin dealer (£450) who had previously bought four pedal harps on credit; this was in addition to money owed by two other Irish customers who had not replied to his recent correspondence.¹⁰⁶ Secondly, Érard was aware of John Egan and the success of his harp-making business in Dublin and was displeased by what he thought was Egan’s blatant plagiarism of his uncle’s harp-making patents. Determined to challenge Egan and intercept his success, Érard saw the establishment of permanent base in Dublin as a competitive solution. The following extract from Pierre’s letter to his uncle Sébastien, written in advance of his trip to Dublin in October 1816, identifies issues with the importation of pedal harps to Dublin, which presented advantages to Ireland-based manufacturers.

There are a thousand problems related to importing harps from England: the crossing of the sea, the worry of being obliged to keep an instrument that one does not like, the difficulty of repairing it, the desire to give preference to those who are established in one’s country etc... This national spirit has won friends for Egan, and I think that even for that reason it would be unwise to file any suits against his imitation; he could be supported as obvious as his theft is, and this kind of victory might give him a kind of notoriety.¹⁰⁷

Érard’s contention that Egan’s Irishness was a factor in his success as a harp maker is striking, and it is worth recalling this sentiment when considering Egan’s market appeal. For example, through advertisements for his double-action pedal harps in 1817, Egan thanked the public for their ‘patriotic assistance’, which, he claimed, had allowed him to produce harps of the highest quality.¹⁰⁸ He also claimed that his double-action pedal harp was a product of his endeavour to ‘improve the native instrument of this country’.¹⁰⁹ Ascribing the term ‘patriotic’ to those who supported him in business, and the term

104 *SNL*, 8 January 1817.

105 In communication with his uncle Sébastien, Érard expressed frustration that the shipping of his thirty or so pedal harps had been delayed due to stormy conditions on the Irish Sea. See Adelson et al, 2736.

106 This suggests that Érard extended credit to individuals and businesses in Ireland on a goodwill basis. See Adelson et al, 2708.

107 Adelson et al, 2401-2402.

108 See, for example, *DEPost*, 8 January 1817.

109 In advertisements, Egan cites his expertise and his efforts to preserve jobs: ‘From the great simplicity of the machinery, and willing, as much as in his power to assist the laudable exertions now making to preserve in employment the tradesmen in every department’. See, for example, *DEP*, 7 January 1817.

‘native’ to an instrument that was based on a European template, may have been a strategic attempt by Egan to enhance his Irish footprint, and diminish the appeal of non-Irish harp makers. By purchasing an Egan harp, the Irish public was championing indigenous craftsmanship and industry, while helping to preserve local jobs.¹¹⁰

Érard returned to London in March 1817, having spent three months in Dublin.¹¹¹ Although he reported positive sales in correspondence to his uncle, he conceded that a permanent branch in Dublin was not sustainable.¹¹² The last listing for Érard’s Irish business at 17 Sackville Street is in the 1820 edition of the Dublin Directory; however, no advertisements for the business beyond November 1817 have been noted in the press.¹¹³ The following advertisement shows the range of services provided by Érard, and the impressive assortment of harp paraphernalia stocked in his Dublin shop. Keen to divert business from John Egan, he made himself personally available to attend to customer queries and orders between two and five o’clock each day.



Figure 1.10 Advertisement: *SNL*, 18 January 1817

110 In an advertisement in the *DEPost*, printed on 7 January 1817, Egan claims to willingly sacrifice his profits (by selling his pedal harps at nearly one half of what imported pedal harps usually sell for) in order to ‘enable him to continue in his employment a number of native artists’.

111 It is possible that on his return to London, his Irish branch was managed by Zieygling, the German gentlemen and trusted employee who had accompanied Érard to Dublin in December 1816. See Adelson et al, 2730. See also footnote 113.

112 Adelson et al, 2745.

113 ‘Mr Siegling’ (spelled ‘Zieygling’ by Adelson et al.) accompanied Érard to Ireland in December 1816. See Adelson et al, 2412. Although it is not known how long he remained in Ireland, it should be noted that he sold single and double-action Érard pedal harps from a premises on 90 Marlborough Street, Dublin in April 1819. See advertisement for ‘The Draisiana’ (Walking Accelerator) in *SNL*, 12 April 1819.

Érard's short tenure in Dublin suggests that he was unable to challenge Egan's success in Ireland. Following Egan's death in 1829, the family business was continued by two of his children, John junior and Mrs Jackson.¹¹⁴ The Egan siblings operated independently, in direct competition with each other, following what appears to have been a family dispute.¹¹⁵ In 1832, John Egan junior, who had recently moved from 32 Dawson Street to 52 Grafton Street, claimed to operate 'the only original harp manufactory in Ireland'.¹¹⁶ This was despite the fact that his sister and her husband were concurrently running a 'harp manufactory' at 38 Grafton Street.¹¹⁷ The Egan family rift played out publicly in the ensuing years, with both siblings refuting a connection to each other through advertisements placed in the Irish press. In 1835, for example, Mrs Jackson, then based at 7 Molesworth Street, pointed out that she was 'in no way connected whatever with any other Harp Manufactory' in the city.¹¹⁸ In 1837, in a similar show of independence, Egan junior repudiated a connection to Jackson, stating:

Mr Egan begs to say he has *no connexion whatever* with the Proprietor of the Shop, 7 Molesworth Street, though falsely represented during his stay in London.¹¹⁹

In 1835, Egan junior suffered an ignominious loss of patronage when the Countess of Mulgrave appointed Mrs Jackson's husband, William, as her official harp maker.¹²⁰ Whether or not the loss of such a high-profile customer sparked the demise of Egan's business is unclear; however, there is no evidence that it survived beyond 1837.¹²¹ Meanwhile, the Jackson arm of the Egan harp dynasty continued until 1847, when Mrs

114 Miss Egan's first name is not documented in newspaper archives, nor is it documented by Nancy Hurrell or Mary Louise O'Donnell. In the 'Dublin, Ireland, Probate Record and Marriage Licence Index, 1270-1858', accessed through www.ancestry.co.uk, there is marriage licence listing for 'Teresa and William Jackson' in 1816. At the time of submitting this thesis, I have not clarified if this was John Egan's daughter.

115 See, for example, advertisements in *SNL*, 4 Dec 1835 & 9 January 1837.

116 *SNL*, 6 December 1832.

117 *SNL*, 6 December 1832. The Committee of the Royal Dublin Society awarded Mrs Jackson a 'large silver medal' for two harps exhibited as specimens of Irish manufacture. *SNL*, 20 June 1835.

118 *SNL*, 14 December 1835.

119 *SNL*, 9 January 1837. Egan lists his personal address as 12 Duke Street.

120 In May 1835, Egan, then operating under 'Egan, Read & Taylor', who were 'son and foremen to the late John Egan of Dawson Street', described themselves as 'harp makers to His Majesty and the Royal Family and the Countess of Mulgrave'. *SNL*, 19 May 1835. *SNL*, 12 June 1835. In December of that year, an announcement in *SNL* confirms the change in patronage to Egan's brother-in-law Mr Jackson: 'Her Excellency has much pleasure in appointing Mr Jackson Harp Maker to her Excellency'. *SNL*, 14 December 1835. Countess Mulgrave was wife of Constantine Phipps (1755-1831) who served as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland between 1835 and 1839. An advertisement in *SNL* for Jacksons' business on 14 December 1835, confirms that Mr Jackson was now harp maker to her Excellency. *SNL*, 14 December 1835.

121 *SNL*, 9 January 1837.

Jackson's son, William, ceased trading at 32 Dawson Street.¹²² Francis Hewson, a nephew of John Egan (senior), was also involved in the family tradition of harp making, and operated his business from various premises in Dublin beginning at 19 South King Street c.1830.¹²³ Hewson's harps are rarely referred to in nineteenth-century press, although his craftsmanship was recognised in 1844 when he was awarded a 'large medal' for his double-action pedal harp by the Royal Dublin Society at the Exhibition of Irish Manufacturers.¹²⁴ John B. Bray was the last in a lineage of Irish pedal harp makers in the nineteenth century, and conducted his business from 26 Westmoreland Street in Dublin between 1843 and 1870.¹²⁵ A connection between Bray and Hewson is insinuated in the *Dublin Weekly Nation* in 1861, although this requires further clarification.¹²⁶ Two of Bray's harps were exhibited at the Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853 and were described in the *Freeman's Journal* as 'large sized Gothic double-action harps pedal harps, very beautifully and richly finished in royal blue and gold, with music stands, stools and desks to match'.¹²⁷ A note in *The Exhibition Expositor* confirms that Bray's pedal harps were manufactured on site at Westmoreland Street'.¹²⁸

1.4 Cultural context

1.4.1 Art music in nineteenth-century Ireland

In the eighteenth century, art music in Ireland was controlled and dominated by the upper classes, and Irish musicians enjoyed the support of wealthy patrons. In 1801, the Act of

122 William Jackson junior took over the family business following his father's death in 1844. See Brian Boydell. 'Jackson, William (i)' *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/226> in *Dublin Music Trade*, accessed 10 January 2020 and Boydell, 'Jackson, William (ii)' *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/228>, accessed 10 January 2020.

123 An article by Grattan Flood in the *FJ*, 26 May 1923 says that Hewson was listed as harp maker at 19 South King Street in 1835, but that he had seen one of his harps that was dated 1830. Boydell places Hewson at 19 South King Street in 1830. See Boydell, 'Hewson, Francis' in *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/200>, accessed 10 January 2020. O' Donnell cites the Dublin Post Office Directory and notes his address as 19 South King Street from 1842 until 1848, then 45 South King Street, then 37 South King Street in 1850, then an absence from 1852-9, then 3 York Street. See O Donnell, 104.

124 *Statesman & Dublin Christian Record*, 18 June 1844.

125 Brian Boydell. 'Bray, John.' *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/31>, accessed 10 January 2020.

126 Death notice for Joseph Hewson in *DWN*, 26 January 1861. Hewson's address is listed as 19 South King Street, the address of Francis Hewson, meaning they were in some way connected. He was described as having been 'the trustworthy foreman of John B. Bray, 26 Westmoreland Street' for 'upwards of fifteen years'.

127 *FJ*, 18 May 1853. *DWN*, 21 May 1853.

128 *The Exhibition Expositor and Advertiser* (Dublin: John Cameron for the Proprietors Gunn & Cameron, 1853), XIX, 3.

Union was implemented, dissolving the Irish parliament, and returning legislative power to London. With no seated Irish parliament, MPs, peers and their families returned to London, and Dublin was downgraded as a centre of political, social and cultural activity. This aristocratic exodus had a profound impact on the cultivation of art music. With a decline in aristocratic patronage, the support structures on which aspiring Irish musicians had traditionally relied were undermined, and Ireland's middle class assumed greater responsibility for the promotion and development of art music.¹²⁹ In some respects, this was a positive development, and music flourished in Irish theatres, churches and concert halls. However, with reduced patronage, many aspiring Irish performers and composers emigrated to London where there were greater opportunities and employment prospects.¹³⁰ While the nineteenth century saw the emigration of promising musicians to London, it also saw the continued influx of foreign virtuosi to Ireland through the two main travel corridors of London-Dublin and Edinburgh-Belfast. Foreign instrumentalists and vocalists animated the Irish music scene by demonstrating the latest techniques and repertoire.¹³¹ Many subsidised their income by teaching in Ireland, ensuring that Irish students were *au courant* with contemporary performance practice.

External influence on Ireland's art-music scene is illuminated in concert programmes and reviews, which were then ubiquitously printed in the Irish press. This reflects the reality that Irish cities, including Dublin, Cork and Belfast, were cultural microcosms of London, and actively nurtured an artistic life that was rooted in British and European customs. Interspersed in concert programmes were performances of Irish melodies, as vocal or instrumental arrangements and fantasias. In the nineteenth century, Irish drawing-room culture – and indeed Irish concert culture in general – was enlivened by the songs of Dublin-born poet Thomas Moore (1779-1852). Founded on ancient Irish airs, to which Moore set his own lyrics, these songs were published in ten volumes between 1808 and 1836. The airs chosen by Moore as a setting for his words were largely taken from Edward Bunting's *Ancient Music of Ireland* collection, which Bunting had transcribed from

129 Aloys Fleishmann. *Music in Ireland: A Symposium* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1952), 7.

130 Irish musicians who emigrated to London and carved their success outside Ireland include Timothy Cooke, Catherine Hayes, Michael William Balfe and William Vincent Wallace. See Chapter 4.

131 Prior to 1850, pianists Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870), Franz Liszt (1811-1886), Frédéric Kalkbrenner (1785-1849), Sigismud Thalberg (1812-1871) and Henri Herz (1803-1888) visited Ireland and performed publicly. Italian virtuoso violinist Niccolò Paganini (1782-1840) visited Ireland professionally in 1831 and performed at the Theatre Royal in Dublin.

traditional Irish harpers who he had witnessed perform at the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792.¹³² The words he wrote were suffused with political undertones and leaned heavily on the harp as a metaphor for an oppressed and dispirited Ireland.¹³³ Known as the *Irish Melodies*, Moore's songs were phenomenally successful – not just in Ireland, but on the international circuit too.¹³⁴ Throughout the nineteenth century, as Irish concert data reveals, instrumental and vocal settings of these works were habitually incorporated into concert programmes, and the airs on which they were founded provided ample source material upon which Irish and foreign musicians could extemporise. In drawing-room settings, wherein the piano and pedal harp were the foundation of musical *soirées*, the *Irish Melodies* found a natural habitat. Aside from their value as a source of musical entertainment, the widespread performance of Moore's songs in public and private settings helped to proliferate nationalistic sentiment and reinforce the position of the harp as a cultural signifier in Ireland. This firmly embedded the potency of harp iconography in the Irish national consciousness, which had repercussions for the reception and perception of the pedal harp in day-to-day public and private musical culture.

1.4.2 Private music-making

Private music-making was an integral part of everyday life in nineteenth-century Ireland. Drawing-room recitals, engrained in the fabric of Anglo-Irish culture, were occasions for artistically minded people to intermingle and collaborate, while also affording platforms to emerging Irish musicians. Learning a musical instrument was an accepted social standard of the middle and upper classes, and proficiency in a musical instrument was a desirable attribute that facilitated social interactions and engendered professional opportunities. In addition, the music profession was an attractive one that offered a variety

132 See Úna Hunt. 'The Harpers' Legacy: Irish National Airs and Pianoforte Composers' *Journal of the Society of Musicology in Ireland* 6 (2010-2011), 3.

133 Úna Hunt suggests that there are relatively few of Moore's songs that are without some form of patriotic or political intent. She has written and spoken extensively on the politicisation of the harp through Moore's songs. See Úna Hunt. *Sources and Style in Moore's Irish Melodies* (London: Routledge, 2017), 3-34.

134 Úna Hunt gives some sense of the reach of Moore's *Irish Melodies* when she points out that 'The last rose of summer' sold no fewer than one and half millions copies alone in the United States and was one of the most popular songs of the nineteenth century. She cites the inclusion of this song in German composer Friedrich von Flutow's opera *Martha*, which was premiered in 1847. Hunt also refers to the countless pianist-composers and other instrumentalists who utilised the *Irish Melodies* in fantasias and variation style works, including Mendelssohn, Herz, Moscheles and Thalberg. See Úna Hunt. *Sources and Style in Moore's Irish Melodies*, 3-6. In recent years, the reception of Moore's *Irish Melodies* in Europe has also been explored extensively by Sarah McCleave and Triona O'Hanlon at Queen's University Belfast as part of a significant project funded by Horizon 2020. For further information on 'Project ERIN: Exploring Thomas Moore in Europe', see <http://www.erin.qub.ac.uk/>, accessed 20 September 2020.

of employment prospects, including to women, who were not granted equivalent recognition in other professions. Private instrumental tuition, widely in demand in urban settlements, was a fundamental part of the art-music industry and negated the pressure for musicians to be appointed to official roles. By teaching privately, it was possible for a musician to have financial stability without the backing of a wealthy patron.¹³⁵

A strong undercurrent of private music making was the anchor of Ireland's music trade, and the greatest testament to this was the concentration of music traders in urban areas. In Dublin, for example, after the Act of Union was enacted, almost every main thoroughfare in the city centre, from Sackville Street and Westmoreland Street in the north inner city, to Dame Street and Dawson Street in the south inner city, boasted some form of music business.¹³⁶ Sheet music sellers, instrument manufacturers and music publishers thrived on the demand that emanated from Ireland's vast network of amateur performers and teachers. As the pedal harp increased in popularity, Dublin music traders responded to an increased demand for instruments, accessories and sheet music. Many of these music traders were subsidiaries of parent companies in London, or, alternatively, had established links to music traders in London, which strengthened their response to contemporary trends in instruments and accessories.¹³⁷

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the ability to play the pedal harp was the epitome of female refinement and sophistication and was espoused as such in British educational preceptors and fiction.¹³⁸ Between c.1790 and 1820, it was not unusual for pedal harp tuition to be directed at 'ladies', indicating that the female-harpist gender stereotype was also proliferated in Ireland.¹³⁹ Initially, Irish women who practised the

135 Jennifer O' Connor. 'The Role of Women in Nineteenth-Century Dublin,' (PhD diss., National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2010), 21.

136 Refer to DMT for a comprehensive database on Ireland's nineteenth century music trade. Accessible online at www.dublinmusictrade.ie

137 Goulding & Co., for example, operating at 7 Westmoreland Street in Dublin, was an English-based firm of music sellers, publishers and instrument makers founded by George Goulding in London in c.1786. For further information on Irish publishers and music shops in the nineteenth century, see www.dublinmusictrade.ie

138 Mike Baldwin has written an account of harp making in London in the nineteenth century and contextualises the social connotations of the pedal harp. In literature, authors like Jane Austen considered the pedal harp as a symbol of affluence. See Mike Baldwin. *Harp-Making in Late-Georgian London* (London: Bright Light, 2020), 14-15.

139 See, for example, advertisement for Mr Lewis' teaching in 1789. *SNL*, 30 June 1789; Miss Cooney's advertisement in 1805. *SNL*, 11 January 1805. See also Table 2.3 (Chapter 2): 'Institutions at which the pedal harp was taught: 1800-1850.'

pedal harp tradition as a leisurely pursuit would have been from affluent or privileged families who could afford to procure an instrument and enlist a private tutor. Associations between the pedal harp and the higher echelons of society in Ireland were proliferated through the many advertisements directed at the ‘nobility and gentry’.¹⁴⁰ Pedal harps were a luxury commodity that would have been prohibitively expensive for those from ordinary or working-class backgrounds. In her study of musical instrument-making in early industrial London, Jennifer Nex notes that pedal harps were among the most expensive instruments sold between 1760 and 1820.¹⁴¹ Information retrieved on the sale of pedal harps in Ireland between c.1790 and 1820 corroborates Nex’s data and suggests that new instruments were priced in the region of £100, while second-hand instruments, presumably depending on the source and condition of the instrument, could expect to fetch in the region of £30.¹⁴² Those interested in playing the pedal harp would have also needed the financial resources for a private tutor. The cost of private tuition is not explicit from teaching advertisements published between c.1790 and 1820; however, music teachers would have been at liberty to charge as they saw fit and would presumably have had to subsidise the cost of their own expensive instruments and the upkeep thereof.

1.5 Concluding remarks

In the 1790s, a burgeoning pedal harp tradition was evident in Ireland. An initial review of Irish newspapers suggests that interest in the tradition intensified between 1800 and 1810, initially in Dublin. Music shops imported pedal harps to sell based on what can be seen as ostensibly a consumer-led demand for instruments. In 1802, Irish harp maker John Egan established the first Irish pedal harp manufactory on Dawson Street in Dublin. In the ensuing decades, the Egan family played a significant role in Ireland’s pedal harp trade and had no competition from other Irish manufacturers.

Historically, the pedal harp tradition was a preserve of the upper classes. That Egan crafted instruments for such esteemed ladies as the Countess of Talbot and Duchess of Richmond is a barometer of the social cachet with which the pedal harp was associated in Ireland. New and second-hand instruments were costly, placing them out of reach of

140 See, for example; advertisement for Mrs Kearns’ teaching in *SNL*, 15 November 1794, advertisement for Miss Cooney’s teaching in *Hibernian Journal*, 11 January 1805.

141 Jennifer Susan Nex. ‘The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London’ (PhD diss., University of London, 2013), 107.

142 See Appendix II.

those who were not from wealthy or privileged backgrounds. Advertisements for harp lessons were frequently directed at ladies, insinuating that the amateur pedal Irish pedal harp community was predominantly female.

Initial findings support the idea that there was little or no interaction between the practitioners of the pedal harp and the practitioners of Irish harp traditions. This is congruent with the fact that both traditions were aesthetically different: the pedal harp occupied a similar artistic space to the piano, while the Irish harp was imbued in indigenous oral culture. Bunting notes that English pedal harpist Philip Seybold and Irish harper Arthur O'Neill encountered one another in Belfast in 1800, however this was atypical of the time, and there is no further evidence to suggest that there were any other similar encounters between Irish harpers and pedal harpists.

Through the individual lenses of practitioners, pedagogy and trade, Chapters 2 and 3 consider the development of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland between c.1800 and 1900. The term 'practitioners' incorporates foreign and Irish pedal harpists who were active in the public domain. 'Pedagogy' takes account of the personalities who taught pedal harp in Ireland and the Irish institutions that facilitated pedal harp tuition. Finally, 'trade' refers to the people who procured, manufactured and sold pedal harps in Ireland, and who supplied sheet music and accessories, thereby enabling the endurance of an active tradition.

Chapter 2. The pedal harp tradition in Ireland: 1800-1850

Between 1800 and 1850, the development and endurance of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland was underpinned by converging factors: the input and expertise of foreign harpists, an indigenous Irish performance and teaching network, and a robust pedal harp trade. This chapter considers the personalities, institutions and businesses at the core of Ireland's pedal harp tradition between 1800 and 1850. Anchored around the three core aspects of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland (practitioners, pedagogy and trade), it is supported by Appendix II (Trade) and Appendix III (Concert data).

I Practitioners

2.1 Foreign harpists in Ireland: 1800-1850

Between 1800 and 1850, and throughout the nineteenth century, foreign virtuosi were crucial to the proliferation of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland. As performers, foreign pedal harpists demonstrated the latest techniques and repertoire and introduced a fresh soundscape to Irish concert stages. As teachers, they imparted their skills to Irish students who maintained an active pedal harp tradition in Ireland in their absence. Table 2.1 outlines the foreign harpists who travelled to Ireland between 1800 and 1850. The ensuing discussion concentrates on harpists considered to have had a tangible influence on the pedal harp tradition in Ireland, and discusses their impact as performers, pedagogues and composers.

Table 2.1 Foreign harpists in Ireland: 1800-1850

Harpist	Years of activity in Ireland	Places	Notes
Madame Dupré	1802, 1803	Dublin, Cork	See Chapter 1
Mademoiselle Champenois	1804	Dublin	See Chapter 1
Sophia Dussek (1875-1831)	1805, 1806	Dublin	See discussion 2.1.1
Mr Poole	1795, 1804, 1805, 1814	Dublin, Cork	See Chapter 1
Jean Elouis (1758-?1833) ¹	1807, 1810	Dublin, Cork & Limerick ²	Swiss-born pedal harpist active in Edinburgh and London in the early nineteenth century
Henry Horn	1810	Dublin	Pupil of Jean Elouis. Performed with Elouis at the Rotunda in June 1810. ³
Madame Boom	1815	Dublin	Residence noted as 65 Aungier Street, Dublin in 1815. Harpist to the Duchess of Angoulême. Active in England between 1817 – 1820. ⁴
Pierre Érard (1794-1855)	1817-1820	Dublin	Nephew of Sebastien Érard. Established harp warehouse on Sackville Street in 1816 in competition with John Egan (see Chapter 1). Performed at Mr Willis' vocal concert at the Rotunda in Feb 1817, at which Miss Cheese also performed on the harp and Mrs Willis on the piano. ⁵

1 Jean Elouis was one of the first professional pedal harpists active in Edinburgh and arrived there in 1805. See John Leonard Cramner. 'Concert Life and the Music Trade in Edinburgh c.1780-c.1830.' (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1991), 169-172.

2 An advertisement in *SNL* on 8 January 1807 states: 'Mr Elouis, a harp player of considerable reputation, who, during a residence of 14 years in London, has given lessons to several of the Royal Family and many of the First Nobility, is shortly expected in Dublin from Cork and Limerick, where his talents have been highly admired.'

3 Mr Elouis' concert at the Rotunda on 29 June 1810. See advertisement in *SNL*, 26 June 1810.

4 *SNL*, 8 November 1815. 'Having just had the honor of being named by the Duchess of Angouleme, Harp Performer to Her Royal Highness, will in consequence shortly be obliged to make again her appearance in Paris, and declines giving concerts in Dublin; but will have no objection to play on the harp, for the Ladies who should wish, before her departure, to receive some instructions from her; for which purpose Madame Boom will give one or two Morning Concerts at her Residence, 65, Aungier Street.'

5 *DEPost*, 22 February 1817. 'Mons P. Erard, though advertised as an amateur assistant on the same instrument, is highly valuable. His manner of modulating shows the power of the new additional action of the instrument and produces a fine effect.'

Harpist	Years of activity in Ireland	Places	Notes
J.F. Pole ⁶	1835, 1839	Dublin, Cork ⁷	Pole, a pedal harpist from London, established a music shop in Edinburgh in 1825 and continued teaching in the city until at least 1835. ⁸
Nicholas Charles Bochsa (1789–1856)	1821, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1847	Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Belfast	See discussion 2.2
Théodore Labarre (1805-1870)	1829	Dublin	See discussion 2.1.3
Mrs Harrington	1831-1837	Dublin, Cork	See discussion 2.1.4
Frederick Chatterton (1812-1894)	1839, 1860, 1867	Dublin, Bray, Cork	See Chapter 3
Elias Parish Alvars (1808-1849)	1846	Dublin	See discussion 2.1.5
Nicholas de Witte (died 1844)	1843	Dublin	‘Harpist to the Imperial Court of Russia’, performed at the Rotunda at least three times in (1843). ⁹ Due to perform in Dublin in May 1844 but died suddenly in London. ¹⁰

2.1.1 *Sophia Dussek (1775-1831)*

Of the six foreign pedal harpists known to have performed in Ireland between 1800 and 1810, three had strong affiliations with Edinburgh; Sophia Dussek (née Corri), J.F. Pole and Jean Elouis. Sophia Corri was born in Edinburgh in 1775. Her father, Domenico Corri (1746-1825), was a well-known Italian composer, conductor, singing pedagogue and

6 Note that a harpist ‘Mr Poole’ was active in Dublin between c.1795 and 1814. See, for example, advertisement for the sale of Mr Poole’s Naderman pedal harp from 145 Capel Street, Dublin in 1795 in *SNL*, 8 December 1795. See also, for example, advertisement for Poole’s teaching on that ‘elegantly fashionable instrument’ in *SNL*, 10 November 1804. O’Donnell suggests that Pole and Poole were the same harpist; however, this is unlikely to have been the case and this research shows two distinct time periods of activity. There was over a twenty year gap between early references to ‘Mr Poole’ (between 1795 and 1814) and later references to ‘Mr Pole’ (between 1835 and 1839). See O’Donnell, 131.

7 Teaching advertised in *SNL*, 18 November 1835. Pole was described as ‘Professor of the pedal harp from London and Edinburgh’. Advertisement for teaching pedal harp in Cork in *SRCCC*, 18 June 1839.

8 Cranmer, 171.

9 For example, de Witte performed at the Anacreontic Society concert at the Rotunda on 4 December 1843. See review in *Dublin Monitor*, 6 December 1843. De Witte’s Grosjean pedal harp (described as a ‘double and single action harp’) was advertised for sale by Mr Bray, harp and pianoforte warerooms, 26 Westmoreland Street. *SNL*, 20 November 1843.

10 *FJ*, 24 April 1844 De Witte was the son of a Russian General and had taken to the harp profession owing to an accident he had while in the cavalry which had disabled him for life. See death notice in London’s *Morning Post*, 22 April 1844.

publisher, who established himself as one of Scotland's leading musicians in the 1780s.¹¹ A singer first and foremost, having received early instruction from her father, Sophia made her successful vocal début at the Salomon's concerts in London in 1791. In 1792, she married Czech composer and pianist J.L. Dussek, having collaborated with him on a number of occasions in London.¹² Although initially recognised for her vocal credentials, Madame Dussek was also an accomplished pianist and pedal harpist. She composed a number of original works for the pedal harp, including six sonatas, once misattributed to her first husband, published in 1794.¹³ In addition to these works, she arranged popular airs for the pedal harp including some of Scottish origin. A copy of Dussek's arrangement of the Irish melody 'St Patrick's Day' has been identified in the Townley Hall Collection.¹⁴

Madame Dussek spent a considerable period of time in Dublin between January 1805 and January 1806 and was among the first foreign pedal harpists to perform in Ireland.¹⁵ In total she performed on five occasions at the Rotunda in Dublin's north inner city. Her first performance was at a 'Grand Subscription Concert' on 16 January 1805, part of a series of eight subscription concerts under the patronage of the Lord Lieutenant and his wife the Countess of Hardwick.¹⁶ Following this, a benefit concert was held for her at the Rotunda on 13 March, at which she was assisted by singers Mr Philips and Miss Tyrer and violinist Monsieur Alday.¹⁷ Two performances in November completed her public appearances in Dublin in 1805, while a concert at the Rotunda in January 1806 marked

11 Peter Ward Jones, Rachel E. Cowgill, J. Bunker Clark, and Nathan Buckner. 'Corri family.' *Grove Music Online* <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000006565>, accessed 14 May 2019.

12 Jones et al., accessed 14 May 2019.

13 'Six Sonatas for the Harp', composed and dedicated to Madame Krumpholtz, published in c.1805 by J. Dale, Oxford Street, London.

14 See Chapter 5.

15 Madame Dussek's address in Dublin was either 24 or 42 Henry Street. A reference to 42 Henry Street has been noted in the *Hibernian Journal*, 22 August 1805, while a reference to 24 Henry Street has been noted in the *Hibernian Journal*, 13 March 1805.

16 This was part of a series of eight subscription concerts (first one took place on 9 January, last one on 26 February). Other names who participated in these concerts included singers Mr Spray, Miss Tyrer, Urbani and Weymann. Instrumentalists included Alday (violin), Attwood (cello), Poole (pedal harp) and Walsh (piano). See John C Green. *Theatre in Dublin, 1745–1820: A Calendar of Performances* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2011), 3422 -3433.

17 Full programme listed in *Hibernian Journal* on day of concert, 13 March 1805.

her final engagement.¹⁸ Between May and August 1805, Dussek left Ireland twice to fulfil engagements in London and Edinburgh, only to return subsequently to resume her teaching.¹⁹ In July 1805, she performed at the Exchange Rooms in Belfast, and it is likely that this was *en route* to Edinburgh from Dublin or vice versa.²⁰ At the time, the musical life of Belfast was benefitting significantly from its geographical position on the travel route between Scotland and Ireland.²¹ Notices in June and August 1805 in the *Hibernian Chronicle* are evidence that Madame Dussek had returned to her lodgings at 42 Henry Street, Dublin to teach harp, singing and pianoforte.²² In all instances, her teaching advertisements were directed at ladies.²³ Return trips to Ireland, which at this time were arduous and expensive, indicate that she was in demand as a music pedagogue, and that her trips to Ireland were financially viable.

In anticipation of her final concert in Ireland, a concert with pianist Mr Walsh at the Rotunda on 2 January 1806, press coverage indicates Dussek's intention to return to Dublin in 'a few months' as she had done on previous occasions.²⁴ However, for reasons that are unknown, a return trip to Ireland did not transpire.²⁵ Prior to her departure, advertisements reveal that Dussek sold her Érard harp and Clementi piano.²⁶ That her Érard harp was a single-action instrument is indisputable, given that her tenure in Ireland was prior to the invention of the double-action instrument in 1810.

The fallacy perpetuated in the Irish press that the pedal harp was a national Irish instrument can be traced back to the period during which Madame Dussek was resident in Dublin. The following extract, taken from *Saunders' Newsletter* in the wake of Madame Dussek's recent return to Dublin from Edinburgh, embodies the confused

18 Grand concert of vocal and instrumental music at the Rotunda, 18 November 1805. See advertisement in *SNL*, 16 November 1805. Madame Dussek's concert at the Rotunda on 29 November 1805. See advertisement in *Hibernian Journal*, 27 November 1805. Final concert in the Rotunda on 2 January 1805. See advertisement in *SNL*, 31 December 1805.

19 *Hibernian Journal*, 18 June 1805 and *Hibernian Journal*, 22 August 1805.

20 Johnston, 58.

21 For example, renowned Italian soprano Angelica Catalani (1780-1849) was engaged by Edward Bunting (1773-1843) to perform in Belfast when she was en route from Dublin to Edinburgh in 1807. See Johnston, 170-171.

22 References to Madame Dussek performing in London in May have been observed in the British News Archives; for example a concert with Mr. Right at Willis' Rooms, King Street, St. James', London on 15 May 1805. *Morning Post*, 13 May 1805.

23 See, for example, *Hibernian Journal*, 18 June 1805 and *Hibernian Journal*, 22 August 1805.

24 *SNL*, 16 December 1805 'Madame Dussek, being under the necessity of leaving Dublin for a few months, will dispose of her Harp and Grand Piano Forte.'

25 *SNL*, 31 December 1805.

26 *SNL*, 13 December 1805.

rhetoric that circulated at the time. The pedal harp was considered ‘peculiar to Ireland’; by the same token, it was thought of as a ‘national’ instrument that was ‘reviving’.

Madame Dussek returned a few days ago from Edinburgh. She is now, we hear, occupied in this city in giving instructions on the harp, pianoforte and singing. The ardour for that national and graceful instrument the harp (formerly peculiar to Ireland, and now so much the fashion in England) seems to be reviving in this country to an astonishing degree.²⁷

Concert programmes printed in the press in advance of Madame Dussek’s performances in Ireland reveal that her performance repertoire consisted of harp solos, piano solos and vocal pieces that were usually derived from eighteenth-century Italian opera.²⁸ Occasionally, she is also noted to have sung to her own harp accompaniment. For example, at her benefit concert at the Rotunda in March 1805 she provided her own harp accompaniment to the Venetian air *La mia crudel tiranna*.²⁹ It is difficult to ascertain with certainty whether harp and piano solos, listed in concert programmes as being by ‘Dussek’, were the compositions of Madame Dussek or her first husband. In any event, the compositions of ‘Dussek’ for the harp were not widely performed in Ireland following Dussek’s last performance in 1806.³⁰

Madame Dussek’s intention to return to Ireland in 1806, although not realised, insinuates that there was an appetite for pedal harp instruction in Ireland in the early nineteenth century, at a time when there were very few Irish practitioners of the instrument. Madame Dussek’s significance in Ireland is rooted in the fact that she was among the first foreign harpists to take up residence in Ireland for consecutive weeks at a time, thereby setting a precedent for harpists who followed. In addition to this, she was the only female harpist-composer to visit Ireland professionally between 1800 and 1850, and indeed in the period 1850-1900.³¹

27 *SNL*, 4 September 1805.

28 Dussek’s first appearance at the Rotunda was on 16 January 1805. Repertoire performed included a duet with Miss Tyrer ‘Si mi Credi amato bene’ (from *Nitetti* the opera by Italian composer Sacchini), ‘Lungi dal caro bene’ from ‘*Le gelosie villane*’ by Giulio Sabbion, accompanied by herself on the harp, a sonata on the harp by Dussek. *Hibernian Journal*, 14 January 1805. At Madame Dussek’s benefit concert on 13 March, programme included: Air and Rondo’ on the harp by Dussek, ‘Grand Military Rondo’ on the pianoforte by Dussek and ‘*La mia crudel tiranna*’, a song with harp accompaniment. *Hibernian Journal*, 12 March 1805.

29 *SNL*, 13 March 1805.

30 The Misses Ashe performed a harp and pianoforte duet by Dussek at the Viceregal Lodge in June 1828. *DEPost*, 19 June 1828.

31 A number of female pedal harpists visited Ireland professionally; however, none of these pedal harpists were noted composers. Priscilla Frost (1839-1907), for example, performed extensively in Ireland in the 1880s. See Chapter 3.

2.1.2 Nicholas Charles Bochsa (1789-1856)

Born in Montmédy in France in 1789, Nicholas Charles Bochsa studied harp at the Paris Conservatoire under Francois Joseph Naderman, having mastered many instruments at a young age.³² Although he excelled under Naderman's guidance, Bochsa left the Conservatoire before completing his studies in order to pursue a career in performance and teaching.³³ As a young harpist, Bochsa became engrained in Parisian concert life, and developed a reputation for his virtuosic and improvisatory performance style. He performed extensively in palaces and at private functions and was a sought-after pedagogue in aristocratic circles.³⁴ As a composer, Bochsa was prolific from an early age; his catalogue of harp music, totalling over three hundred items, encompasses original works (sonatas, études and concertos) and arrangements of popular European airs, including operatic airs and folk melodies. His instructional guide, *Nouvelle Méthode*, was published in 1814, and was the first comprehensive reference for the double-action pedal harp.³⁵

Bochsa was renowned for his charming, albeit arrogant demeanour, and his professional life was perpetually shrouded in controversy.³⁶ Through his aristocratic interactions in Paris, he became accustomed to a high standard of living and his lifestyle surpassed his income.³⁷ To offset financial pressure, he fraudulently obtained money through theft and forgery, and fled France before he was officially indicted by the French justice system. However, his duplicitous behaviour did not impede his success in London. Bochsa found almost instantaneous fame upon his arrival and his playing was said to have 'surpassed anything seen in the English capital'.³⁸ He judiciously connected with Pierre Érard and the two men entered a mutually beneficial business partnership. Through his

32 Nicholas Temperley. 'Bochsa, (Robert) Nicholas Charles.' *Grove Music Online* <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000003341>, accessed 17 October 2018.

33 Hallo, 26.

34 Students included Empress Josephine (1763-1814) and Empress Marie Louise (1791-1847), while an appointment as harpist and composer to Napoleon ensured entry to all the important society events. Bochsa was appointed harpist to Napoleon in 1813 and Louis XVIII in 1816. See Roslyn Rensch, *Harp and Harpists*, 134.

35 Other instructional manuals by Bochsa were 'New and improved method of instruction for the harp', published in 1817, Bochsa's 'Explanations of his New Harp Effects', published in 1832, Bochsa's 'Daily Precepts', published in 1840.

36 Hallo, 26.

37 Hallo, 28.

38 Richard Davis. *Anna Bishop: The Adventures of an Intrepid Prima Donna* (Currency Press: Sydney, 1997), 31.

performances in London, Bochsa extolled the virtues of Érard's double-action instrument, generating unprecedented interest in the instrument in London and Europe, and later in America and Australia. He rapidly developed a reputation for his captivating performances, many of which included extemporisations on popular airs.³⁹

Bochsa was the most influential pedal harpist to perform and teach in Ireland prior to 1850. Between 1821 and 1847, he visited Ireland on five occasions. His longest visit was in 1837 when he resided in Dublin for eleven weeks.⁴⁰ Bochsa came to Dublin for the first time in early August 1821 as part of the entourage of King George IV who had recently ascended the British throne. Upon his arrival, his intention to teach was evidenced by multiple advertisements directed to the 'nobility and gentry'.⁴¹ Bochsa immediately established connections with two leading personalities engrained in Dublin's music trade; harp maker John Egan, then at 30 Dawson Street, and Isaac Willis, proprietor of the Harmonic Saloon, 7 Westmoreland Street.⁴² He maintained a link with the Egan harp-making dynasty in Dublin in the ensuing decades. Prior to his final visit to Ireland in 1847, for example, queries regarding Bochsa's teaching could be addressed to John Egan's son-in-law, William Jackson, who was then operating a Harp Manufactory at 32 Dawson Street.⁴³

During his inaugural visit to Dublin, Bochsa was enlisted by Isaac Willis to perform at four 'grand coronation concerts' at the Theatre Royal in Dublin in honour of King George IV. These performances created somewhat of a media frenzy; the *Freeman's Journal* described Bochsa as 'the most accomplished performer on the harp that ever appeared before a British audience' while *Saunders' Newsletter* described how he had 'enraptured and astonished every individual present' with his commanding style.⁴⁴ An important facet of Bochsa's inaugural visit to Ireland was his endorsement of John Egan's pedal harps, including Egan's newly-invented triple-action pedal harp.⁴⁵ This was a significant coup

39 A extemporising harp style emerged out of Bochsa's performances. He invited audience participation by extemporising on popular airs chosen by the audience. See H.C. Watson, *A Sketch of the Life of N.C. Bochsa*, (Sydney: Paisley & Fryer, 1855), 12.

40 Last concert was Calcraft's concert at Theatre Royal on 18th March 1837. See *FJ*, 17 March 1837. He had arrived in Dublin on 30 December 1836. Described as a 'short visit' in *SNL*, 31 December 1836

41 See, for example, *SNL*, 3 August 1821.

42 Willis' sister-in-law Almira Cheese was also a pedal harpist (see section 2.2.2). A connection with Egan was forged through Egan's son Charles, who was studying pedal harp with Bochsa in London, and who had accompanied him to Ireland. See Section 2.2.2.

43 *DWR*, 17 April 1847.

44 *FJ*, 10 August 1821 & *SNL*, 20 August 1821.

45 There are no extant examples of Egan's triple-action pedal harp.

for Egan, who cited Bochsa's approbation in advertisements for his business. In a letter to Egan, Bochsa wrote:

Of your Double-action Pedal harps I have given a *convincing* proof of their merits, by playing on one *of your make* on Friday, at the Coronation Concerts, Theatre Royal; and, as a further proof, I request that you will make for me a Double-action pedal harp, a Royal Portable Irish harp, and also one of your *newly-invented* Triple-action Pedal harps, which invention I do consider the *highest* degree of perfection the harp can *arrive* at.⁴⁶

Bochsa returned to Dublin following a fifteen-year hiatus in December 1836.⁴⁷ Between January and March 1837, he performed at least six times at the Rotunda and twice at the Theatre Royal.⁴⁸ The *Freeman's Journal* reported that eight hundred people, many 'of the first rank' attended his penultimate concert at the Rotunda, but that many more were unable to secure tickets and were left disappointed.⁴⁹ Bochsa returned to Ireland in 1838 and 1839, and widened his geographical influence by performing outside Dublin: in Cork, Limerick and Belfast.⁵⁰ Following a 'grand concert' at the Rotunda on 30 March 1838, described as 'literally crammed' in the *Dublin Morning Register*, he was engaged by Frank Seymour to perform for five consecutive nights at Cook Street Theatre in Cork during Easter Week.⁵¹ These concerts were presented as theatrical interludes, and included works of local and Irish interest. For example, his concert on 19 April included 'a new Caprice, entitled 'A Visit to Cork', featuring several Irish airs.⁵² After the conclusion of the theatre concerts, Bochsa gave a Farewell Concert at the Imperial Hotel.⁵³ Reports of his activities in Ireland garnered interest in the London press; for example, the *Morning Post* reported that he had been received with 'utmost enthusiasm' in Cork and that he was also engaged to perform in Limerick.⁵⁴ Bochsa's protracted visit

46 See, for example, *SNL*, 11 September 1821 and *DEPost*, 8 September 1821.

47 Reports are that he had planned a trip to Ireland in 1835, however this does not appear to have transpired.

See, for example, *SNL*, 13 November 1835: 'The celebrated Harpist, Bochsa, will arrive in this city in about a fortnight and purposes giving a few concerts.'

48 *The Pilot*, 17 March 1837 & *SNL*, 14 March 1837.

49 *FJ*, 7 March 1837.

50 An advertisement for a concert in Limerick in March 1838, 'on about the 20th or 25th inst.' *Limerick Chronicle*, 3 March 1838. An advertisement for Bochsa's Limerick visit, in which he proposes to give lessons on his 'celebrated New Harp Effects' is also contained in the *Limerick Chronicle* on 10 March 1838. Advertisements for two concerts at the Theatre Royal, Charlotte's Quay, Limerick on 23 and 24 April 1838. See *Limerick Chronicle*, 21 April 1838. An advertisement for two concerts at the Assembly Rooms in Belfast, to take place on 30 April and 1 May, published in *Belfast Commercial Chronicle*, 11 April 1838 and *Northern Whig*, 24 April 1838.

51 *DMR*, 31 March 1838.

52 O'Regan, 159.

53 O'Regan states that, by the late 1830s, the Imperial Hotel had become the most prestigious of Cork's concert venues, and was particularly favoured by visiting artists for morning concerts. O'Regan, 158.

54 *Morning Post*, 25 April 1838.

to Ireland in 1837 was immensely successful from a financial point of view. Upon his departure to London at the beginning of April, the *Waterford Chronicle* reported that Bochsa had netted ‘upwards of eight hundred pounds’.⁵⁵ To put this in context, the average annual salary of a schoolmaster in England in 1835 was eighty-two pounds, while that of a doctor (or surgeon) was two hundred pounds.⁵⁶ A new double-action pedal harp, for example, cost in the region of £100.⁵⁷

In 1839, Bochsa’s visit to Ireland was as part of a tour with renowned soprano Anna Bishop, wife of eminent composer Henry Bishop. This was Mrs Bishop’s first visit to Ireland, and accordingly attracted widespread press attention.⁵⁸ At their first joint concert at the Rotunda on 7 March, Bochsa and Bishop were supported by tenor Signor Sapio, cellist Mr Pigott and Bishop’s sister, pianist Miss Riviere.⁵⁹ The *Freeman’s Journal* reported that Bochsa’s ‘Bardic Tour’ or medley of Irish melodies was ‘rapturously applauded’.⁶⁰ Following their success at the Rotunda, Bochsa and Mrs Bishop travelled to Cork where they were engaged by John Mc Donnell to perform for six nights at the Theatre Royal on George’s Street. Controversy ensued, and Bochsa reneged on his agreement by only fulfilling four out of six performances.⁶¹ Mc Donnell successfully sued Bochsa for breach of contract, forcing him to part with a double-action pedal harp in order to compensate for the losses incurred.⁶² After cutting short his appearances in Cork, Bochsa returned to Dublin with Mrs Bishop and the duo performed together on several more occasions. Notable performances included a ‘grand morning concert’ at the Theatre Royal on 20 March,⁶³ a concert of sacred music at the Rotunda on 26 March,⁶⁴

⁵⁵ *Waterford Chronicle*, 1 April 1837.

⁵⁶ Peter H. Lindert and Jeffrey G. Williamson. ‘English Workers’ Living Standards during the Industrial Revolution: A New Look.’ *The Economic History Review* Vol 36 (February 1984), 88-92.

⁵⁷ See Appendix III.

⁵⁸ *SNL*, 19 February 1839.

⁵⁹ Pianist Riviere was Anna Bishop’s sister. *FJ*, 5 March 1839.

⁶⁰ *FJ*, 8 March 1839.

⁶¹ In an article entitled ‘Cork Record Court: Mc Donnell v. Bochsa’ in the *Limerick Chronicle*, it is stated: ‘This was an action for breach of agreement brought by Mc Donnell, the proprietor of the late Theatre Royal, against Signor Bochsa, the celebrated harpist. It was given in evidence that the agreement was for six nights, the last to be announced for the benefit of Mrs Bishop’. *Limerick Chronicle*, 8 November 1840.

⁶² ‘Mr McDonnell, of the late Cork Theatre, has seized Bochsa’s splendid double action harp, to satisfy the costs of the suit in the late record against the eminent music master, for not completing his engagement in Cork.’ *Dublin Monitor*, 5 December 1840.

⁶³ *SNL*, 12 March 1839 Note, the duo was assisted by Signor Sapio, Mr Pigott, Mr Conran, Miss Riviere and Mr Levy.

⁶⁴ *DEP*, 28 March, 1839.

subscription concerts at the Adephe on Great Brunswick Street on 19 and 23 April,⁶⁵ and a morning concert at the Royal Hotel in Kingstown on 1 May.⁶⁶ The final concert of their tour took place at the Belfast Theatre on 3 May 1839, and was Bochsa's only performance in Belfast.⁶⁷

Newspaper advertisements suggest that Bochsa's last visit to Ireland was in 1847. Advertisements published in the weeks prior to his arrival prepared his Irish students for his limited availability for teaching purposes, citing his performance commitments in London.⁶⁸ Given his high-profile status as a performing harpist, it seems peculiar that Bochsa visited Ireland for the purposes of teaching only. That his mistress, Anna Bishop, was residing in Dublin at the time is probably no coincidence. Between February and May 1847, Bishop was engaged by Mr Calcraft for a series of performances at the Theatre Royal in Dublin.⁶⁹ Her relationship with Bochsa, which by 1847 was on the public record, had prompted staunch moral criticism in the British press.⁷⁰

Bochsa was consistently lauded for his skill and virtuosity in the Irish press, and he endeared himself to Irish audiences by extemporising on well-known Irish airs, although he was sometimes criticised for his extravagant embellishments. For example, a review of his performance at the Rotunda on 7 January 1837 in *The Freeman's Journal* described the 'suffocating profusion' of his interpretations and deemed them out of step with the 'touching eloquence' of Irish airs.⁷¹ Bochsa's repertoire was exceptionally popular among Irish pedal harpists, and his chamber works for harp were a vehicle through which Irish pedal harpists could collaborate. For example, in June 1825, six Irish pedal harpists performed Bochsa's 'Grand Bardique Overture' at Miss Ashe's benefit concert at the Rotunda.⁷² In *Saunders' Newsletter*, these harpists were described as 'six principal teachers on the harp' and were listed as sisters Eliza and Emma Ashe, Miss Attwood, Miss Egan (presumably John Egan's daughter), John Egan (Egan's son) and Mr

65 *DEP*, 18 April 1839, *DMR*, 19 April 1839, *The Pilot*, 22 April 1839.

66 *DMR*, 27 April 1839.

67 *FJ*, 4 May 1839.

68 *DWR*, 17 April 1847; *Warder & Dublin Weekly Mail*, 27 March 1847.

69 Between February and May 1847, Mrs Bishop was engaged by Mr Calcraft for a series of performances at the Theatre Royal in Dublin. Her final concert at the Theatre Royal, Dublin was on 28 May 1847, following which she performed a number of times at the Theatre Royal on Cook Street in Cork. *DEM*, 26 May 1847.

70 *FJ*, 14 June 1847. Mr P.W. Gormley's Grand Military Full Dress Concert at the Round Room.

71 *FJ*, 9 January 1837.

72 See Appendix II.

Percival.⁷³ On 13 January 1837, Bochsa assembled a number of Irish pedal harpists, including three of the Ashe sisters, Miss Jackson (daughter of Mrs Jackson) and Alexander de Pothonier for a performance of his work entitled ‘Morceau Ossianique’, scored for eight harps and incorporating an Irish melody.⁷⁴ He is known to have taught at least three of these harpists, Cecelia Ashe, Alexander de Pothonier and Miss Jackson, but the likelihood is that he had an influence on all of them.⁷⁵ Mr Pothonier, who operated a music academy at his residence, 33 Gloucester Street, is noted to have taken queries in relation to Bochsa’s activities in Ireland in 1836.⁷⁶

Bochsa set a performance benchmark to which Irish pedal harpists could aspire and his performances generated a level of interest hitherto not ascribed to pedal harpists in the Irish press. His legacy in Ireland was continued by his students, who followed his lead in travelling to Ireland to perform and teach. For example, Frederick Chatterton (1814-1894) visited Ireland for the first time in 1839 and was particularly active as a performer and teacher in Dublin in the 1860s.⁷⁷ Both Théodore Labarre and Elias Parish-Alvars, who visited Ireland in 1829 and 1846 respectively, were also former students of Bochsa. Eudisia Harrington (née Shee), known as Mrs Harrington in music circles, also purported to have studied with Bochsa. With her husband, who was also a professional musician, Harrington spent considerable periods of time in Ireland teaching and performing between 1830 and 1837.⁷⁸ Irish pedal harpists who perpetuated Bochsa’s teaching ideologies included Charlotte Despard, Miss Kearns, Alexander de Pothonier, Cecelia Ashe and Miss Jackson.⁷⁹

73 *SNL*, 27 May 1825. Note Miss Egan (possibly Teresa Egan) went on to become Mrs Jackson (see Section II: Pedagogy). John Egan succeeded his father in business (See Chapter 1 and Section III: Trade).

74 *DEP*, 10 January 1837. Names taken from *DMR*, 11 January 1837: ‘assisted by Miss Ashe, Miss F. Ashe, Miss C. Ashe, Mrs Joseph Elliot, Miss Jackson, Miss Cheese, Miss Kennedy, Signor Sapio, Mr Conran, Mr Wilkinson, Mr Barton, Mr Piggott, Mr Pothonier, Mr Powell, Mr Bruni, Mr G.F. Conran, and several other distinguished performers’.

75 De Pothonier and Ashe are discussed in 2.2 In the *Armagh Guardian*, Miss Jackson ‘of Dublin’ was described as ‘a pupil of Bochsa’. *Armagh Guardian*, 6 May 1845.

76 *DEP*, 31 December 1836 Advertisement in advance of visit for harp lessons. Note the previous year, when Bochsa was supposed to come (late 1835/early 1836), Mr Piggott had been listed at 13 Westmoreland Street. *DMR*, 29 January 1836.

77 Chatterton also visited Ireland in 1860 and 1867. See Chapter 3.

78 See section 2.1.4.

79 These Irish pedal harpists are discussed in 2.2 and 2.4. Note that Miss Jackson was a granddaughter of harp-maker John Egan. In 1846, an advertisement in *DWR* confirms that Jackson studied with Bochsa and that she taught his ‘Harp Effects’. Her address is listed as ‘Jackson’s Harp Manufactory, 32 Dawson Street’. See *DWR*, 7 February 1846.

Bochsa's repertoire was cornerstone of nineteenth-century performance and teaching repertoire in Ireland and remained so in the decades after 1847.⁸⁰ Prior to his first visit to Ireland in 1821, there is evidence that his repertoire was already in circulation; for example, Mr and Miss Ashe performed a harp and flute duet by Bochsa at a concert of vocal and instrumental music at the Rotunda in November 1815, while Almira Cheese performed a 'Divertimento' by Bochsa at the Rotunda in November 1818.⁸¹ Collections of repertoire examined as part of this research indicate that the repertoire of Bochsa was widely disseminated in Ireland.⁸² The Louisa Cane Collection, for example, representative of a collection of harp repertoire assembled in Ireland after 1850, contains more individual works by Bochsa than any other composer, including Cane's teacher, Bavarian harpist Charles Oberthür (1819-1895). Although the concert repertoire database (Appendix III) reveals that the performance of Bochsa's repertoire declined in public after 1850 in favour of works by the likes of Parish Alvars and Godefroid, it is likely that his teaching methods and compositions continued to hold their value among amateur harpists.⁸³

2.1.3 Théodore Labarre (1805–1870)

French pedal harpist and composer Théodore Labarre (1805-1870) spent at least eight weeks in Ireland between December 1828 and February 1829. An announcement in *Saunders' Newsletter* highlighted his 'limited' availability at the time due to performance commitments in London.⁸⁴ Labarre was born in Paris where his harp teachers included Bochsa, François Naderman and Jacques-Georges Coisineau.⁸⁵ In 1824 he travelled to London where he established himself as a leading performer and pedagogue.⁸⁶ He remained in London until 1831, although returned on many occasions to perform in the 1840s and 1850s. A base in London placed Labarre within travelling distance of Dublin,

80 See Chapter 5.

81 Programme listed in *SNL*, 11 November 1818. Programme outlined was for four concerts organised by Miss Stephens, under the patronage of the Lord Lieutenant, with one quarter of the profits going to the Funds for Suppression of Mendicity. Programme of Mr and Mrs Ashe's concert at the Rotunda listed in *SNL*, 6 November 1815.

82 See Chapter 5.

83 See Chapter 5 and Appendix III.

84 *SNL*, 15 December 1828.

85 Govea, 152.

86 Govea, 152.

although unlike Bochsá, he only visited Ireland once.⁸⁷ Labarre's first performance in Dublin was at Morrisson's Great Rooms on Dawson Street on 16 December 1828 at a meeting of Dublin's Beefsteak Club. The *Dublin Evening Post* commended his 'style, expression and execution' and described him as 'an artist of the very first-rate talent'.⁸⁸ Between January and February 1829, Labarre performed on three more occasions in Dublin, once at the Rotunda and twice at the Masonic Rooms on Dawson Street.⁸⁹ In each concert he was assisted by members of the Ashe family. The Ashe sisters were important exponents of the pedal harp tradition in Dublin in the 1820s and 1830s (see section 2.2.4), however their harp playing does not appear to have featured at Labarre's concerts.⁹⁰

Labarre was an prolific composer, and his credentials were recognised early in his career when he was awarded second prize in the coveted Prix de Rome for his cantata *Pyramus et Thisbé*.⁹¹ He composed a catalogue of works for the harp, the majority of which were fantasias and arrangements of popular European airs. The presence of his compositions in both the Louisa Cane Collection and the National Library of Ireland is evidence that his works were a mainstay of Irish harp music collections. Labarre's works continued to feature in concert programmes in Ireland, at least until the 1870s, although their popularity was overshadowed by the works of Parish Alvars and Godefroid.⁹² Labarre was one of a number of foreign harpists to incorporate Irish melodies into his arrangements and fantasias.⁹³ Prior to his visit to Ireland in 1828, there is evidence that

87 One of his first appearances in London was at the Argyll Rooms in 1824 at a concert that also featured twelve-year-old Hungarian pianist Franz Liszt. Labarre is also noted to have performed at two of Liszt's benefit concerts, also held at the Argyll Rooms, in 1824 and 1825. Note that prior to this Labarre featured at another concert at the Argyll Rooms, held on 5 June 1824, at which Liszt also performed. *Morning Post*, 7th June 1824. Liszt's benefit concert took place on 21st June 1824 and featured several performers, including Madame Castelli, Madame Marinoni, Signor Begrez, Signor Puzzi. Liszt performed on an Érard 'new patent grand pianoforte', and tickets could be purchased from Érard's premises (18 Great Marlborough Street) where Liszt was staying. *Morning Post*, 8th June 1824.

88 *DEM*, 17 December 1828.

89 Vocal and instrumental concert at the Rotunda on 16 January 1829. See *SNL*, 5 January 1829. Morning concert in Masonic Hall, hosted by Mr Ashe on 2 February 1829. See *SNL*, 28 January 1829. Benefit concert for Labarre in Masonic Hall on 16 February 1829. See *SNL*, 14 February 1829.

90 A programme for Labarre's final concert in Dublin reveals that the Ashe sisters contributed vocal solos, duets and trios, while Labarre performed two of his own solo pieces for harp, namely 'Grand Fantasia Irlandoise' and 'Grand Divertimento', and two duets (with 'Miss Ashe') for harp and pianoforte. *SNL*, 16 November 1829.

91 Govea, 152.

92 Glover sisters included works by 'Bochsá, Labarre, Alvars, Aptommas' in a recital in Waterford in 1869. *Waterford Chronicle*, 22 January 1869. Frederick Chatterton included Labarre in his concert programmes of 1867. *FJ*, 16 October 1867. Emilie Glover, harp and vocal recital at 14 Talbot Street in November 1870. Selections from Bochsá, Labarre, Alvars and Aptommas. *FJ*, 8 November 1870.

93 See Chapter 5.

his compositions were available to purchase in Dublin's music shops. For example, in 1824, Isaac Willis listed Labarre's 'Kathleen O'Moore with variations for the Harp' among his recent publications.⁹⁴ Willis, who had also forged a relationship with Bochsá in 1821, was Labarre's point of contact with the public during his residency in Ireland.⁹⁵ It is unlikely that Labarre's eight-week stint in Ireland was justified by four concert appearances. An advertisement placed in *Saunders' Newsletter* upon his arrival in Dublin outlines that Labarre's purpose in Ireland was to give instruction on the harp.⁹⁶ It is likely that he was engaged as a private harp instructor, however it is not possible to quantify or corroborate this. The Ashe sisters are also noted to have performed works by Labarre in advance of his visit to Ireland. At Mr Magrath's concert at the Rotunda on 15 February 1828, eleven months before Labarre performed in Dublin, Eliza Ashe performed a solo piece and duet by Labarre.⁹⁷ Irish pedal harpist Alexander de Pothonier claimed to have been taught by Labarre in London, although this was in the 1830s.⁹⁸

2.1.4 Mrs Harrington

Originally from London, Mrs Harrington, née Eudisia Shee, was active as a pedal harpist in Ireland between 1830 and 1837. A former student of Bochsá at the Royal Academy of Music, she came to Ireland with her husband, Thomas Harrington, a professional double bass player from Suffolk.⁹⁹ During their extended spell in Ireland, the Harringtons became embedded in the concert life of Dublin and Cork.¹⁰⁰ Harrington's first performance in Ireland was at the Theatre Royal in Dublin in December 1830. According to the *Freeman's Journal*, she played a fantasia on the harp that was 'loudly and deservedly applauded.'¹⁰¹ Subsequent performances included Mr Piggott's concert at the Rotunda (1831),¹⁰² Signora Mees Masi's concert at the Rotunda (1832)¹⁰³, the

94 *SNL*, 29 November 1824. Willis, who operated a publishing business in London and Dublin, is noted to have published four of nineteen works attributed to Labarre in the Louisa Cane Collection.

95 *SNL*, 15 December 1828.

96 *SNL*, 15 December 1828.

97 *DMR*, 13 February 1828; *DEP*, 16 February 1828.

98 *SNL*, 30 November 1835.

99 Notice of the Harringtons' marriage in the *Oxford Journal*, 8 March 1828. In this notice, Eudisia Shea described as 'of Southampton Road, London'; Mr T.J. Harrington described as 'of Bury.'

100 O' Regan, 155.

101 *FJ*, 9 December 1830.

102 At this concert, Thomasine Allen performed publicly on the piano for the first time. 'Miss Ashe' is listed as one of principal vocal performers. *FJ*, 24 Feb 1831.

103 *DMR*, 20 January 1832.

Anacreontic Society concert at the Rotunda (1832)¹⁰⁴ and Signor Lanza's concert at Mrs Caddell's residence, Upper Temple Street (1833).¹⁰⁵ Harrington staged her own morning concert at the Rotunda in January 1833 and was subsequently described in *Saunders' Newsletter* as 'in the leading rank of her profession'.¹⁰⁶

In 1832, Mr and Mrs Harrington resided at 6 Westmoreland Street in Dublin and between them offered instruction in thorough bass, pedal harp and pianoforte.¹⁰⁷ Upon conclusion of the winter season in Dublin in 1833 and 1834, they relocated to Cork where Mrs Harrington was active a performer and teacher.¹⁰⁸ It is not known when she first visited Cork, but, considering that her husband performed there in 1831, it is likely to have been around this time. Mr Harrington first appeared in Cork at Isaac Collins' concert in 1831 and was a member of the Cork Theatre Royal orchestra in 1835.¹⁰⁹

Second to her teacher Bochsa, Eudisia Harrington was one of the leading harpists to perform and teach in Cork prior to 1850. She performed at various concerts in between 1833 and 1836, including at Mr Forde's benefit at the Theatre Royal (1833),¹¹⁰ Signora D'Alberti's concert at the Imperial Hotel (1833),¹¹¹ and a sacred music concert at the South Chapel under the direction of Signor de Begnis (1836).¹¹² She staged a grand concert at the Imperial Hotel in May 1836, directed by her husband and featuring members of the de Begnis opera company.¹¹³

Harrington was an avid exponent of Bochsa's repertoire, although most concert programmes were nebulous in their descriptions of specific works. For example, at Signora Messi's concert at the Rotunda in January 1832, Mrs Harrington performed a

104 *DEP*, 14 February 1832. Note Mrs Harrington played a 'Military concerto' by Bochsa with full orchestral accompaniments.

105 Benefit concert of Signor Lanza at which the Ashe sisters also sang, although they were suffering with influenza. *DEP*, 7 May 1833.

106 *DEP*, 24 January 1833.

107 *SNL*, 18 June 1832; *SNL*, 7 February 1832.

108 See, for example, advertisements for teaching in *CC*, 17 August 1833 and *SRCCC*, 8 June 1834 which state that Harrington was on vacation from Dublin for the purpose of giving harp instruction in Cork.

109 O'Regan, 155.

110 *SRCCC*, 14 September 1833 'A fantasia on the harp by Mrs Harrington was most brilliantly performed. This lady is not only a fine Harpist, but also a first-rate piano player.'

111 Mrs Harrington performed a solo harp piece with full orchestral accompaniments by Bochsa. *SRCCC*, 28 September 1833.

112 *SRCCC*, 2 June 1836.

113 Mrs Harrington performed a 'Fantasia' by Bochsa. Programme in *SRCCC*, 12 May 1836. Note that the de Begnis opera company were concurrently performing a season of Italian opera at the Theatre Royal. O'Regan, 155.

‘fantasia’ by Bochsa. A few weeks later, a review of her performance for the Anacreontic Society in the *Dublin Evening Packet* cited her performance of a ‘military concerto’ by Bochsa as one of the most successful performances of the evening.¹¹⁴ Like most pedal harpists who were active as performers in Ireland, Mrs Harrington was an active pedagogue. In June 1832, she proposed to devote two days per week to teaching Bochsa’s ‘New Harp Effects’ in the vicinity of Kingstown and Bray. It is likely that she was the first harpist to teach this ‘entire new system’ in Ireland.¹¹⁵ Within months of Mrs Harrington’s advertisement in the *Freeman’s Journal*, Cecelia Ashe introduced Bochsa’s ‘Effects’ to Cork and Dublin audiences, claiming to be the first harpist in Ireland to do so.¹¹⁶ The proficiency of two Irish-resident harpists in novel pedal harp techniques, within months of their publication in London, is evidence that Irish pedal harpists were afforded timely access to contemporary harp methods and repertoire.

2.1.5 Elias Parish Alvars (1808-1849)

Elias Parish Alvars was born in Devon in the south of England in 1808 and is said to have studied harp with Bochsa, Labarre and Dizi in London.¹¹⁷ In his short career he developed a reputation for his unrivalled virtuosity, winning plaudits from both Berlioz and Liszt.¹¹⁸ Parish Alvars spent much of his professional life in Vienna, where he was appointed harpist at the Imperial Opera in 1836.¹¹⁹ He was also a prolific composer, and cultivated a genre of harp music that capitalised on the expansive harmonic resources of the double-action instrument.¹²⁰

Parish Alvars visited Ireland briefly in the summer of 1846, having only recently returned to London from Leipzig.¹²¹ His first and only performance in Dublin was at the Antient Concert Rooms at the Philharmonic Society’s third grand concert of the season. During the concert, conducted by Henry Bussell and led by Irish violinist R.M. Levey, he

114 *DEP*, 14 February 1832.

115 *FJ*, 18 June 1832.

116 *CC*, 8 September 1832.

117 Govea, 220.

118 Ann Griffiths. ‘Elias Parish Alvars (1808-1849).’ *Adlaimusicpublishers.co.uk* www.adlaimusicpublishers.co.uk/pages/harpists/parishalvars.htm, accessed 19 March 2019.

119 Govea, 220.

120 Zingel, 35-40.

121 Parish Alvars arrived in London in early March. Notice of him leaving London for Dublin was published on 6 March 1846 in the *Morning Post*, while he is known to have performed in the Hanover Square Rooms in London less than three weeks later on 19 May. *Morning Post*, 20 May 1846.

performed two of his own works, ‘La Danse des fées’ and ‘Fantasia’ on themes from Italian opera.¹²² A review in the *Freeman’s Journal* described him as ‘far and away the finest performer on the harp we have ever heard’ while an account in the *Dublin Evening Mail* reported that ‘to be appreciated, he must be heard’.¹²³

Parish Alvars’ solitary performance in Ireland at the height of his fame and popularity was as a reflection of the capacity of the Philharmonic Society, directed by Bussell, to attract highly-regarded foreign artists to Dublin. In general, Bussell tended to persuade harpists who performed for the Philharmonic Society to perform on more than one occasion, or to return during another season, however this did not transpire with Parish Alvars. The transitory nature of his trip to Dublin was, in all likelihood, a symptom of his hectic performance schedule. Upon leaving Dublin, he was immediately engaged at concerts in London and Manchester, before returning to Vienna, Leipzig and Berlin. He did not return to London in the lead up to his death in Vienna in February 1849 and was therefore not geographically placed to visit Ireland again.¹²⁴

Parish Alvars is not known to have taught pedal harp while in Dublin. No advertisement for his teaching in Ireland has been traced and no Irish pedal harpist purported to have been influenced by him. In context, this was unusual, as his contemporaries, including Labarre and Bochsá, are known to have subsidised their income by teaching. That Parish Alvars had no impact as a harp pedagogue in Ireland does not diminish his influence as a composer, although, as Chapter 5 will elucidate, the permeation of his repertoire into the canon of Irish pedal harp repertoire was much more profound in the period 1850-1900. Prior to 1850, although the Irish press is noted to have sporadically reported on his activities in Europe, Parish Alvars’ compositions were not widely in circulation in Ireland.¹²⁵ Only one Irish pedal harpist, Daniel Lewis (see 2.2.5), is noted to have

122 *FJ*, 9 May 1846.

123 *FJ*, 9 May 1846 & *DEM*, 13 May 1846.

124 The Philharmonic Society also welcomed Alvars’ widow, harpist Melanie Lewy, in 1851. Parish Alvars married Melanie Lewy, an Austrian harpist and pianist, in Vienna in 1842. Madame Parish Alvars also performed at the Philharmonic Society’s third concert of the season, almost exactly three years after her husband had performed in Dublin at the same event. Joseph Robinson and his wife Fanny are also noted to have performed at this event. *FJ*, 21 May 1851. The *Dublin Evening Packet* reported that Madame Parish Alvars played a fantasia of her own composition on the harp and that her performance was encored. *DEP*, 24 May 1851.

125 There are no notices of Parish Alvars’ works for sale in Dublin music shops and no records of harpists in Ireland performing his works until the 1850s. *SNL & Tipperary Free Press* reported on his trip to Berlin in May 1843. *SNL*, 13 May 1843 & *Tipperary Free Press*, 17 May 1843.

performed a ‘fantasia’ by Parish Alvars in Ireland prior to 1846.¹²⁶ After 1850, the repertoire of Parish Alvars entered the mainstream of pedal harp repertoire in circulation in Ireland. The concert repertoire appendix (Appendix III) provides evidence that ‘La danse des fées’ was among the most widely performed works for pedal harp performed in Ireland between 1850 and 1900.

2.2 Irish pedal harpists active in Ireland

In the period 1800-1850, the pedal harp tradition was propagated by a handful of Irish pedal harpists, who ensured that the pedal harp maintained an active role in urban art music life in the absence of foreign virtuosi. Irish pedal harpists with a public profile tended to be from established musical families or affiliated with an element of Ireland’s music trade. For example, Cecelia Ashe, active in Ireland between c.1815 and 1839, and one of Ireland’s foremost pedal harpists during this period, was the daughter of two professional musicians, flautist Andrew Ashe and soprano Mary Comer. Two of harp-maker John Egan’s children, Charles and Miss Egan (later Mrs Jackson),¹²⁷ established individual careers as pedal harpists; this appears to have been an organic consequence of their immersion in the pedal harp trade from an early age.¹²⁸ A number of Irish pedal harpists also continued a family tradition of harp playing; for example, Miss Kearns (first name unknown), active in Ireland between c1817 and 1846, was daughter of Elizabeth Kearns (née Mountain), who one of the earliest exponents of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland. Similarly, Daniel Lewis was son of Griffith P. Lewis, traced as the first pedal harpist to advertise pedal harp tuition in Dublin in 1789.¹²⁹ Irish pedal harpists from established music families and businesses, and those who continued a family tradition of harp playing, were at an advantage in terms of their access to music tuition, their access to instruments and their opportunities to perform in public. For example, the Ashe sisters were accustomed to performing in public at an early age, and regularly featured at their

126 *SNL*, 4 June 1843.

127 Miss Egan’s first name is not documented in newspaper archives, nor has it been documented in recent research on Egan. See Chapter 1, footnote 114.

128 Although Charles Egan was successful as a pedal harpist, he spent the majority of his professional life outside Ireland. He ultimately became a barrister at law. See Teresa and Mary, Louise O’Donnell. ‘The Life and Works of Charles Egan, composer and harpist.’ *An Cruitire* Vol. 5 No. 1 (December 2018), 23. https://www.cairdenacruite.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AnCruitire_2018.pdf, accessed 10 January 2021.

129 See Chapter 1.

parents' recitals in England and in Ireland.¹³⁰ Almira Cheese, who relocated to Ireland in c.1807 with her family, was afforded a public platform through her mother, a music teacher, who organised musical soirées at the family home on Westmoreland Street.¹³¹

Directly or indirectly, Bochsa influenced the majority of Irish pedal harpists who were publicly active in Ireland between 1800 and 1850. Although two of Bochsa's Irish students, Charles Egan and Miss Kearns, travelled to London to study with him, it is likely that Bochsa taught most of his Irish students during his extended trips to Ireland. Bochsa's Irish students, who were actively engaged as performers and teachers in Ireland between 1800 and 1850, included Cecelia Ashe, Miss Kearns, Charlotte Despard, Alexander de Pothonier and Miss Jackson. These harpists were vital to the maintenance and propagation of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland and ensured that Irish pedal harpists were up-to-date with contemporary repertoire, techniques and teaching ideologies.

Table 2.2 summarises the Irish pedal harpists active publicly in Ireland between 1800 and 1850, while the ensuing discussion charts their activities as performers and teachers.¹³²

Table 2.2 Irish pedal harpists active between 1800 and 1850

Harpist	Years of activity in Ireland	Places	Notes
Griffith P. Lewis (d.1852)	c.1789-1844	Dublin	See section 2.2.5 and Chapter 1.
Mrs Kearns (née Miss Mountain)	c.1792-1821	Dublin	See Chapter 1 and section 2.2.1.
Almira Cheese (1791-1868)	c.1805-1843	Dublin	See section 2.2.2.
Charlotte Despard	c.1808-1830	Dublin	See section II (Pedagogy)
Daniel Lewis	c.1835-1844	Dublin	See section 2.2.5.
The Ashe sisters	c.1815-1840	Dublin and throughout Ireland	See section 2.2.4.

130 See section 2.2.4.

131 See section 2.2.2.

132 Note that in this instance, 'Irish' pedal harpists were not necessarily born in Ireland, but rather were resident in Ireland for prolonged periods of time; for example, Almira Cheese came to Ireland with her mother and sister, presumably from London, in 1807 and remained until her death in 1868, thereby qualifying her for inclusion in this section.

Miss Kearns	c.1817-1846	Dublin	See section 2.2.1.
Alexander de Pothonier	c.1829-1842	Dublin	See section 2.2.3.

2.2.1 Mrs Kearns (née Miss Mountain) and Miss Kearns

As detailed in Chapter 1, one of the first names associated with the pedal harp in Ireland was Elizabeth Mountain, daughter of Henry Mountain, a Dublin-based violinist and music shop owner.¹³³ It is plausible that Mountain was first introduced to the pedal harp in London in 1790, when she is known to have commuted to London to purchase sheet music for her father's business.¹³⁴ Referred to as 'Professor of the pedal harp and pianoforte' in 1792, she was the first woman to advertise pedal harp tuition in Dublin. In addition to teaching, Mountain imported pedal harps to sell at the family music shop on Grafton Street.¹³⁵ An advertisement placed in the *Dublin Evening Post* in 1792 described her first shipment of harps as being 'from the very best makers in Paris'.¹³⁶

Upon her marriage to Joseph Kearns in 1793, Mountain became known professionally as Mrs Kearns, although she continued to reference her maiden name in advertisements.¹³⁷ In 1799, for example, an advertisement in *Saunders' Newsletter* stated that 'Mrs Kearns, formerly Miss Mountain,' had now set aside two days per week for the purpose of teaching ladies on the pedal harp and pianoforte.¹³⁸ Between 1792 until 1806, advertisements reveal that she taught from her own residence, but was also willing to travel to her students' residences for an added fee.¹³⁹ This was a practice followed by many female music pedagogues at the time.¹⁴⁰ Following the dissolution of the family business, Mrs Kearns continued to import pedal harps to Dublin. In 1806, for example, following an extended period of time in London, during which she purported to have been taught by Belgian harpist François Dizi, Mrs Kearns advertised the sale of two pedal harps

133 Brian Boydell. 'Mountain, H' *Dublin Music Trade* <http://www.dublinmusictrade.ie/>, accessed 10 July 2017.

134 *DEPost*, 7 July 1790 'Mountain begs leave to inform the public that his daughter is just arrived from London where she has opened a correspondence with the first musical houses there, and selected from their publications an extensive variety, which he has now received.'

135 See, for example *DEP*, 4 August 1792.

136 *DEPost*, 4th August 1792.

137 Marriage record in 'Walker's Hibernian Magazine 1771–1812' www.ancestry.co.uk, accessed 12 July 2017.

138 *SNL*, 31 December 1799.

139 'No entrance will be required' for students who wished to come to Mrs Kearns' house, 'but to those ladies who wish to have lessons from her at their houses, the terms as usual.' *SNL*, 31 December 1799.

140 O'Connor, 9.

from her residence on South Frederick Street. These harps were described as ‘the first of the kind ever imported in this Kingdom, with an additional octave’.¹⁴¹

Mrs Kearns was active as a pedal harp teacher until at least 1821, when she is known to have established a music seminary at 83 Lower Mount Street, Dublin with her daughter Miss Kearns, who was also a pedal harpist.¹⁴² Kearns followed the path of her mother by intermittently travelling to London for pedal harp tuition. She submitted details of her London trips to the Irish press, ostensibly to enhance her credibility as a harp teacher. In 1823, for example, an article in *Saunders’ Newsletter* refers to Kearns’ most recent trip to London, which lasted ‘some months’ and during which she was taught by Belgian pedal harpist François Dizi (1780-1840). The article states:

We are extremely happy to hear that Miss Kearns, the young lady who adds, by her delightful performances on the harp, to the attraction of our fashionable evening circles in Dublin, may be shortly expected on her return from London, where she has been for some months studying, and resuming her practice with her former instructor, Dizi, and having obtained an additional store of science and graces on this fascinating instrument, will, no doubt, be happy to impart them to her pupils, who may consider themselves fortunate in acquiring the same manner, and peculiar brilliancy of style which distinguishes this eminent Master, as if immediately under his own instructions, with this important advantage, at less than half the expense.¹⁴³

In February 1824, the same newspaper describes Kearns’ ‘superior advantages’ as a harp teacher, having recently studied with Dizi and Bochsa in London.¹⁴⁴ Thirteen years later, in January 1837, an advertisement in the *Dublin Evening Post* states that Miss Kearns had now resumed giving instruction on the harp ‘after a long absence to her native city’, and was proficient in teaching Bochsa’s ‘New Harp Effects’.¹⁴⁵

There are few accounts of Kearns’ performances in the Irish press, which suggests that much of her activity as a pedal harpist was conducted in private.¹⁴⁶ Her most significant public performance may have been at German pianist Friedrich Kalkbrenner’s concert at

141 *SNL*, 29 December 1806.

142 *DEPost*, 7 April 1821 Note that she was also listed as a teacher at Mrs Gahan’s seminary in Blackrock in 1815.

143 *SNL*, 12 September 1823.

144 *SNL*, 7 Feb 1824.

145 *DEPost*, 5 Jan 1837. Note that this time her address was 39 Denzille Street, Merrion Square. *SNL*, 17 April 1837.

146 An article in *SNL* states that Miss Kearns added to the ‘attraction of our fashionable evening circles in Dublin’. This suggests that Miss Kearns was part of a network of musicians who performed at evening soirées that were aimed towards the upper classes. *SNL*, 12 September 1823.

the Rotunda in 1824.¹⁴⁷ At this event, she performed a ‘Fantasia on the harp’ by Bochsa and participated in a ‘quintetto’ by Kalbrenner.¹⁴⁸ Newspaper archives suggest that Kearns continued to teach the pedal harp in Dublin and to facilitate the sale of pedal harps from her residence until at least 1846.¹⁴⁹

2.2.2 *Almira Cheese (1791-1868)*

Mrs Cheese and her two daughters, Almira and Dinah, moved to Dublin from England in 1805 and took up residence at 7 Westmoreland Street, presumably above the music shop occupied by Goulding & Co.¹⁵⁰ Almira, a pedal harpist and singer, performed in Dublin until at least 1849,¹⁵¹ while Dinah, a pianist and singer, known as Mrs Willis after her marriage to Isaac Willis in 1810, appears only to have performed in Ireland until c.1819.¹⁵² As well as teaching harp and pianoforte, the Cheese sisters staged annual concerts at their residence between 1805 and 1816. Their first concert was held on 24 May 1805, and the programme included a harp concerto by Dussek, a piano sonata by John Field and vocal duets by Stevenson.¹⁵³ Subsequent concerts offered similar programmes, namely harp and piano solos, duets on harp and piano and vocal items with harp or piano accompaniment.¹⁵⁴ Outside of their annual concerts, the Cheese sisters regularly featured as performers on Dublin’s music circuit, including at various benefit and fundraising concerts at the Rotunda. Almira, like most harpists of her generation,

147 Friedrich Kalkbrenner (1785-1849) was a French pianist, teacher and composer of German extraction. One of his most notable students was Irish pianist and composer George Alexander Osborne. According to Ita Hogan, Kalkbrenner was the only pianist of ‘first rate talent’ to have visited Ireland until 1824. See Hogan, 220. Kalkbrenner embarked on a tour of Ireland and Scotland in the spring of 1824, following performances with the harpist Dizi in Berlin and Vienna. See Paul Dekeyser, ‘Kalkbrenner, Frédéric.’ *Grove Music Online* <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000014623>, accessed 19 July 2019.

148 Other performers in this quintet were: Mr. Alday (violin), Mr. Ashe (flute), Mr. Perceval (violoncello), Mr. Kalkbrenner (pianoforte). See *SNL*, 6 September 1824.

149 *SNL*, 5 November 1846. Note that address now listed as 35 Mount Street.

150 *SNL*, 6 May 1805. Note ‘Mrs Cheese, having finally determined upon settling in Dublin, informs her friends she means to have a weekly music meeting, from the hours of eight to ten o’clock in the evening, at her apartments, No. 7, Westmoreland Street.’ Note that Goulding & Co (an agency of the London publisher / music seller) operated at 7 Westmoreland Street between 1802 and 1816. In 1817 it was taken over by Isaac Willis. See Brian Boydell. ‘Goulding & Co.’ *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/170>, accessed 20 April 2018.

151 She died in 1868 at the age of seventy-seven. See death notice in *SNL*, 8 April 1868.

152 Mrs Willis’ benefit concert at the Rotunda. Note that other performers included Miss Cheese (‘the fine vocal abilities of Miss Cheese’), Mr Percival (cello) and singers Demoiselles de Lihu and Signor Puzzi. *DEP*, 4 March 1819.

153 Programme printed in *Hibernian Journal*, 24 May 1805.

154 See Appendix III.

regularly performed works by Bochsa. For example, in November 1818, she performed Bochsa's *Divertimento* on the harp at Miss Stephen's concert, proving that Bochsa's repertoire was in circulation in Ireland prior to his first visit to Ireland in 1821.¹⁵⁵ Cheese's access to sheet music was probably ameliorated by her connection to Mr Willis (brother-in-law), who opened Dublin's first Music Circulating Library, known as the Harmonic Saloon, at 7 Westmoreland Street in 1820.¹⁵⁶ This business was one of two that took enquiries in relation to Bochsa's teaching and engagements in Ireland.¹⁵⁷ Willis is also known to have stocked Érard pedal harps in the 1820s, a practice that was perhaps influenced by his familial connection to Cheese and his acquaintance with Bochsa and Labarre.

Aside from teaching pedal harp privately, Almira Cheese was employed to teach harp at various establishments directed to the education of ladies. She was engaged by Mr Blewitt to teach at his Academy on Sackville Street, Dublin in 1820, and is noted to have resided at the premises in her role as a supervisor at this institution.¹⁵⁸ She also conducted the harp and singing department at Mr E Arnold's Academy, located in Monkstown, Dublin in 1836.¹⁵⁹ One of Cheese's students was Theodosia Allen, daughter of pianist E.C. Allen and his wife Thomasina, and granddaughter of J.B. Logier. Theodosia's mother, Mrs Allen, ran a successful music Academy on Gardiner Street between 1819 and 1866, and it was at this institution that Theodosia made her public *début* on the harp in 1843.¹⁶⁰

155 *SNL*, 7 November 1818. At her own concert at the Rotunda in May 1835, she performed Air with variations by Bochsa. *SNL*, 1 May 1835; at Mrs E.C. Allen's concert at the Rotunda in March 1842, she performed a duet with Mrs Allen and an arrangement of airs from Bellini's opera *Norma* by Bochsa. *DEP*, 12 March 1842; at Mrs Allen's subscription concert at her residence, 5 Gardiner's Row, Rutland Square in May 1849, Miss Cheese performed a duet for two harps, 'The Witches' March' by Bochsa, with her student Theodosia Allen (Mrs Allen's daughter). *FJ*, 4 May 1849.

156 Notice of opening of Music Circulating Library in *DWR*, 3 June 1820.

157 John Egan took enquiries in relation to Bochsa's teaching in 1821. See section 2.1.2.

158 'Mr Blewitt...[...].has entered into an arrangement with Miss Cheese and Mrs Vincent, to given instructions in Singing, and on the Harp, at his Academies; and that for the Accommodation of his Pupils residing in the Northern part of the City, he intends opening an Academy at 7 Sackville Street...[...].under the superintendence of Miss Cheese and Mrs Vincent, who will reside at the House.' *SNL*, 12 October 1820.

159 *SNL*, 19 September 1836 This Academy was founded in 1830. See *WDWM*, 31 October 1840. See advertisements in *SNL*, 13 October 1836, *SNL*, 9 January 1837, *SNL*, 27 December 1841.

160 *SNL*, 18 March 1843. Note that the two eldest of the Misses Allen took over the running of the Academy in 1866. See *Thom's Directory, 1866* www.findmypast.co.uk, accessed 20 April 2020. The Misses Allen are listed under 'Merchants and Traders' as running a music academy on Gardiner's Row.

2.2.3 Alexander (de) Pothonier and the Pothonier Family (c.1815-1899)¹⁶¹

Alexander N. (de) Pothonier was the son of the French language professor Alexandre de Pothonier, who established a ‘French and musical Academy’ in Cork in 1818.¹⁶² In 1825, the family relocated to Dublin where Monsieur de Pothonier conducted French language and conversation classes at various addresses in the city.¹⁶³ Pothonier’s wife, who died in 1829, was described as a lady ‘of the most cultivated musical acquirements’ and is known to have disposed of pianofortes from the family residence in Dublin.¹⁶⁴

At the age of fourteen, Alexander was recognised in Dublin music circles as a precocious talent, exhibiting ‘extraordinary professional intelligence’.¹⁶⁵ Like Miss Kearns and Cecelia Ashe, he travelled to London to refine his harp playing, where he received instruction from Bochsá and Labarre.¹⁶⁶ In 1835, he declared his proficiency in teaching Bochsá’s ‘New Harp Effects’.¹⁶⁷ Teaching was an integral part of Alexander’s activity as a pedal harpist. In 1834, he established ‘Musical Academy’ for the tuition of the harp and pianoforte at the family residence, 33 Upper Gloucester Street, with his brother Francis who was described as a ‘professor of the pianoforte’ and ‘late student of the Royal Academy of London’.¹⁶⁸ He was also employed as harp teacher at Whitehall boarding and day school for young ladies in Blackrock, Dublin in 1836.¹⁶⁹ In the early 1840s, Alexander was employed by the Mahon family in Sligo as a private music instructor, stimulating a chain of events that led to him eventually eschewing a career in music. He left Ireland to seek more lucrative employment after he was refused his student Fanny Mahon’s hand in marriage by her mother, Mrs Mahon, who disapproved of their

161 Death notice in *Hampshire Advertiser*, 8 July 1899.

162 This is based on a listing for his ‘French Academy’ in Cork in 1818. This information was gleaned from a document entitled ‘Irish Historic Towns Atlas Cork: draft gazetteer of topographical information’, published by the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht on 27 July 2012. See <https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/cork-gazetteer-ihta.pdf>, accessed 20 August 2018.

163 *SNL*, 21 February 1825.

164 *SNL*, 11 April 1828 death notice 1829.

165 *The Pilot*, 12 October 1829.

166 *SNL*, 30 November 1835 ‘Mons. A.N. Pothonier has the honour of informing the Nobility and Gentry of this country he has lately returned from Paris and London, where he has been studying under Messrs Bochsá and Labarre.’

167 *SNL*, 30 November 1835.

168 *DEP*, 4 November 1834. Note that ‘F. Pothonier’ appears in a list of pupils received into the Academy since its foundation in 1822–23. He entered the Academy in 1831, but left before completion of his education (January 1831–April 1831). See https://archive.org/stream/listofpupilsrece00roya/listofpupilsrece00roya_djvu.txt, accessed 12 March 2019.

169 *DWR*, 25 June 1836.

burgeoning relationship. In 1842, having found success in the shipping business, he returned to Ireland, and subsequently eloped to England with Miss Mahon.¹⁷⁰ There is no further evidence that he was involved in the music profession, and he continued to be affiliated with the shipping industry until his death in Hampshire, England in 1899.¹⁷¹

A connection between Alexander de Pothonier and Bochsa was probably initiated in London and was perhaps strengthened by their mutual French heritage. For example, in 1836, Alexander de Pothonier was Bochsa's agent in Dublin, and took enquiries in relation to his upcoming visit to Ireland.¹⁷² When Bochsa's trip to Ireland was postponed from February to April 1836, it was Alexander who communicated this information to the press, having received a letter from Bochsa.¹⁷³ In March 1837, Alexander agreed to remain in Dublin for the season to give harp lessons 'at the desire of his friend Mr Bochsa'.¹⁷⁴

As a performer, Alexander was an important component of Dublin's pedal harp network. Collaborations with Cecelia and Fanny Ashe, Charles Egan and Mr Lewis, serve as evidence that there was occasional interaction between Irish pedal harpists in Dublin in the 1830s. In February 1835, for example, Alexander was part of a septet of harpists who performed an overture by Bochsa at the Rotunda.¹⁷⁵ In 1837, these harpists also featured at Bochsa's concert at the same venue, during which they performed 'Morceau Ossianique' for eight harps.¹⁷⁶

2.2.4 The Ashe Sisters

Born in Cheltenham, England between c.1801 and 1816, the Ashe sisters, Mary, Honoria, Elizabeth (Eliza), Emma, Frances (Fanny) and Cecelia, were daughters of two professional musicians, Irish flautist Andrew Ashe (1756-1838) and English soprano

170 *The Statesman and Dublin Christian Record*, 30 August 1842.

171 Death notice in *Hampshire Advertiser*, 8 July 1899.

172 *DMR*, 2 February 1836. Enquiries could be made from either Mr Pigott on Westmoreland Street or Pothonier, 33 Upper Gloucester Street.

173 *SNL*, 15 February 1836.

174 Pothonier's address listed as 11 Lower Baggott Street, Dublin. *SNL*, 28 March 1837.

175 *SNL*, 4 February 1835. See table 2.3.

176 *DEP*, 10 January 1837. Other performers listed were Miss Ashe, Miss F Ashe, Miss C Ashe, Mrs Joseph Elliott, Signor Sapio, Mr Conran, Mr Wilkinson, Mr Barton, Mr Pigott, Mr Powell. References have been found to the Ashe sisters as harpists, as have references to a Mr. G. F. Conran.

Mary Comer (1774-1843).¹⁷⁷ Mr Ashe, from Lisburn in Co. Antrim, held a number of esteemed positions throughout his career, including principal flautist at the King's Theatre, London, principal flautist of the London Philharmonic Society, Professor of Flute at the Royal Academy of Music in London, and musical director of the Bath concerts.¹⁷⁸ At the time of her marriage to Ashe in 1799, Comer was in the infancy of her career as a soprano, having studied under the celebrated Italian castrato Vinanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810).¹⁷⁹ Mr and Mrs Ashe resided in Bath in the South West of England until 1823, when the family relocated to Ireland.¹⁸⁰

Steeped in music from a young age, the Ashe sisters were introduced incrementally to the public stage through their parents' recitals. Early concert programmes and reviews suggest that Honoria, born in 1802, was a pianist and that one other sister, then simply referred to as 'Miss Ashe', played the pedal harp.¹⁸¹ The pedal harp featured at Mr and Mrs Ashe's concerts from 1814 onwards. In July 1814, for example, Miss Ashe and Honoria Ashe performed a 'grand duet on Érard's 'new patent Double Action harp' and pianoforte' at the Argyle Rooms, London.¹⁸² At the Assembly Rooms in Newcastle in November 1816, Honoria Ashe performed a 'grand fantasia' on the piano by Kalkbrenner, and a harp and piano duet by Stiebalt with Miss Ashe.¹⁸³ In these early concerts, the 'Miss

177 Mr and Mrs Ashe had twelve children. See notice of twelfth child born – a daughter – in 1816. *Bristol Mirror*, 27 July 1816.

178 Lind Lunney. 'Andrew Ashe' in *The Dictionary of Irish Biography* <https://www.dib.ie/biography/ashe-andrew-a0242>, accessed 28 April 2020.

179 Paul Francis Rice. *Vinanzio Rauzzini in Britain: Castrato, Composer and Cultural Leader* (New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2015), 189-190.

180 Prior to settling in Ireland, Mr and Mrs Ashe had performed extensively throughout England and Scotland. A sample of these concerts includes: Mr Ashe's benefit concert at the New Assembly Rooms, Bath on 21 March 1800, advertised in *Bath Chronicle*, 20 March 1800; Mr and Mrs Ashe performed at a vocal concert at the New Rooms, Hanover Square, London on 13 February 1807, advertised in *Morning Post*, 11 February 1807; Mrs Ashe's benefit concert at Corri's Rooms, Edinburgh on 3 February 1804, advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury*, 2 February 1804; three grand Ashe family concerts at Corri's Rooms, Edinburgh in October 1816, advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury*, 17 October 1816; Mr Ashe's concert at the Assembly Rooms, Prince's Street, Bristol on 1 January 1818, advertised in the *Bristol Mirror*, 13 December 1817; the Ashe family concert at the Russell Royal Hotel in Weymouth on 7 November 1818, reviewed in the *Bath Chronicle*, 12 November 1818; the Ashe family concert in the Assembly Rooms, Portsmouth, 25 September 1820, advertised in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, 25 September 1820.

181 In 1813, for example, at the age of eleven, Honoria Ashe performed a 'grand concerto' on the piano by Dussek at her parents' concert at the Rotunda in Dublin *SNL*, 9 October 1813. This performance was repeated, three days later, at Mrs Ashe's benefit concert at the Theatre Royal in Dublin. Advertisement in *SNL*, 28 October 1813.

182 *London Courier and Evening Gazette*, 11 July 1814.

183 *Durham County Advisor*, 2 November 1816.

Ashe' to whom newspapers referred is likely to have been eldest sister Mary, born in 1801.¹⁸⁴

Prior to settling in Ireland in 1823, the Ashe family visited Ireland on at least five occasions, and performed in Dublin, Cork and Belfast.¹⁸⁵ Mr and Mrs Ashe staged their first joint benefit concert in Ireland at the Rotunda in Dublin in October 1813 under the direction of Irish conductor Philip Cogan (1750-1833).¹⁸⁶ This was followed, three days later, by a benefit concert for Mrs Ashe at the Theatre Royal on Crowe Street in Dublin.¹⁸⁷ The pedal harp featured at their Irish concerts for the first time in 1815, both at the Exchange Rooms in Belfast and at the Rotunda in Dublin.¹⁸⁸ An advertisement in *Saunders' Newsletter*, printed in anticipation of the first of two Rotunda concerts, confirms that the pedal harp on which Miss Ashe performed was a double-action instrument.¹⁸⁹ Distinguishing between single- and double-action instruments was uncommon in the Irish press at the time, making it possible that Miss Ashe (presumably Mary or Emma) was one of the first women, amateur or professional, to publicly perform on the double-action instrument in Ireland.¹⁹⁰

In the 1820s and 1830s, the Ashe family was one of the most prominent musical families in Dublin. The family offered flute, piano, pedal harp and singing tuition from their Dublin residence, initially at 26 Westmoreland Street, then at 15 Dawson Street, and,

184 Church records indicate that the eldest sister was christened 'Mary Gertrude Honoria Ashe' on 19 March 1801 at St Swithin's Church in Bath. The second eldest sister was christened 'Honorina Maria Olympia Ashe', at the same church, on 8 March 1802. Church of England baptism records accessed through www.ancestry.co.uk, accessed 10 February 2017.

185 Notice of the Ashe family's arrival in Dublin. *SNL*, 23 December 1823. Notice of establishment of music school at 26 Westmoreland Street in Dublin in *SNL*, 4 February 1824. 'Mrs Ashe has the honour of acquainting her friends and the public that her Academy is now open at 26 Westmoreland Street, where instructions are given on the pianoforte, harp and singing, by Mrs and the Misses Ashe. Mr Ashe, as usual, gives lessons on the flute, and in accompaniment.'

186 Advertisement in *SNL*, 12 October 1813.

187 *SNL*, Advertisement on 7 October 1813.

188 A concert of vocal and instrumental music at the Exchange Rooms in Belfast took place on 2 November 1815. See review in *The Globe*, 4 November 1815. Concert at the Rotunda on 7 November 1815. An advertisement in *SNL* states: 'The Misses Ashe will perform several select pieces on Erard's double action pedal harp'. *SNL*, 21 October 1815. Concert at the Rotunda on 14 November 1815. An advertisement in *SNL* states: 'The Misses Ashe will perform Dussek's favourite duet for harp and pianoforte and Cramer's Serenata for pianoforte, harp and flute'. *SNL*, 11 November 1815.

189 *SNL*, 24 October 1815.

190 A search including terms such as 'double', 'double action', 'double harp', 'double action harp' in the BNA generates only one other result in 1815, namely an advertisement for Mr Taylor's teaching in *SNL* on 7 October 1815. Mr Taylor, a pupil of Dizi, stated that he taught on the 'single or double movement harp.'

finally, at 21 Ely Place, where the family settled in or around 1827.¹⁹¹ Mr and Mrs Ashe regularly staged concerts at which their daughters performed, both as vocalists and instrumentalists. From 1828 onwards, ‘the Misses Ashe’ staged their own concerts, in what may have been a signal that they no longer relied on their parents’ musical reputation to attract public interest in their concerts.¹⁹² Individually and collectively, they performed extensively throughout Ireland, not only in Dublin, Cork and Belfast,¹⁹³ but also in Limerick, Derry, Tipperary, Louth, Waterford, Galway.¹⁹⁴ Members of the family also participated at concerts organised by other well-known Irish musicians and foreign virtuosi, thus becoming an integral part of the Irish art-music network. This network of musicians included the likes of Irish violinist James Barton, multi-instrumentalist and conductor William Vincent Wallace, cellist Samuel Piggott and pianist W.S. Conran.¹⁹⁵ Foreign musicians with whom the Ashe family collaborated in Ireland included Frédéric Kalkbrenner, Ignaz Moscheles, Henri Herz, Théodore Labarre, Nicholas Charles Bochsa and Sigismund Thalberg.¹⁹⁶ Table 2.3 details a selection of the concerts at which the Ashe sisters featured in Ireland between 1827 and 1835.

191 An advertisement for Miss Ashe’s annual concert at Shelbourne House lists her address as 15 Dawson Street. *SNL*, 22 May 1826. Mrs Ashe died at her residence, 8 Pembroke Street, Dublin in 1843. See *DEM*, 12 May 1843.

192 See, for example, the Misses Ashe’s concert, which took place at the Rotunda on 2 May 1828.

193 The Misses Ashe’s concert at the Assembly Rooms Belfast, 26 September 1833. *Northern Whig*, 19 September 1833; Dublin and Cork examples in Table 2.3.

194 The Misses Ashe’s concert Kilroy’s Great Rooms in Galway on 14 September 1836. See *Galway Patriot*, 17 September 1836; Concert in Clonmel, Tipperary on 19 October 1835. See *Limerick Chronicle*, 17 October 1835; Ashe family concert at the Corporation Hall, Derry on 6 October 1830. See *Londonderry Sentinel*, 9 October 1830; The Misses Ashe’s concert at the Assembly Rooms, Waterford on 27 October 1835. See *Waterford Mail*, 24 October 1835; The Misses Ashe’s concert at the Swinburn Rooms in Limerick on 17 October 1836. See *Limerick Chronicle*, 15 October 1836; Ashe family concert at Mayoralty House, Drogheda, Co. Louth on 28 June 1825. See *Drogheda Journal*, 25 June 1825.

195 Miss Ashe, Miss F Ashe and Cecelia Ashe (harp) featured at James Barton’s concert at the Rotunda on 10 May 1836. See *SNL*, 9 May 1836; Wallace conducted and performed violin at Senor Castro’s concert at which Cecelia, Fanny and Miss Ashe participated on 16 May 1835. Mr Conran presided at the piano at this event. See *SNL*, 15 May 1835; Mr Piggott featured at the Misses Ashe’s annual concert at the Rotunda on 9 May 1837. See *SNL*, 6 May 1837.

196 ‘Miss Ashe’ was a vocalist at Kalkbrenner’s concert at the Rotunda on 6 September 1824 (Miss Kearns was listed as a harpist at this concert). See *SNL*, 6 September 1824; At Moscheles’ concert at the Rotunda on 11 January 1826, Mrs and Miss Ashe were listed as vocal performers. See *SNL*, 14 January 1826; At Herz’ concert at the Rotunda on 17 November 1836, Cecelia Ashe performed on the pedal harp while ‘the Misses Ashe’ were listed as vocal assistants. See *SNL*, 15 November 1836; At Labarre’s concert at the Rotunda on 29 January 1829, ‘Miss Ashe’ performed the piano part of two harp-piano duets with Labarre. See *SNL*, 14 January 1829; At Thalberg’s concert at the Rotunda on 16 December 1837, Cecelia Ashe performed a harp solo. See *SNL*, 19 December 1837; Miss Ashe, Miss F Ashe and Cecelia Ashe assisted at Bochsa’s morning concert at the Rotunda on 13 January 1837. See *DEP*, 10 January 1837.

Table 2.3 Concerts featuring the Ashe sisters in Ireland: 1827-1835

Concert	Date	Other performers	Harp repertoire	Reference
Mr Piggott's concert at the Rotunda – a grand concert of vocal and instrumental music	20 February 1827	Principal vocal performers listed as Mrs Ashe, Miss Eliza and Emma Ashe, Mr Smith & John Barton, James Barton (leader), W.S. Conran (piano), Mr Wm Walsh (conductor), Mr Richard Walsh (second violin), Mr Piggott (cello), Mr G. Connell and Eliza Ashe (harps)	Not listed	<i>SNL</i> , 17 February 1827
Madame Pasta's concert at the Rotunda in Dublin	28 August 1827	Vocal performers: Madame Castelli, Mrs H Corri, Mr McKeon & Mr Latham; Signor Spagnoletti (leader), Mr Piggott (cello), Mr Weidner (flute)	Fantasia on the harp by Bochsá – Eliza Ashe	<i>SNL</i> , 27 August 1827
The Misses Ashe's concert at the Rotunda	13 May 1828	Mr, Mrs and the Misses Ashe, Madame Cornega, Signor Giovanola, Mr Magrath, Mr Piggott, Mr Attwood, Mr Murphy, Mr. W.S. Conran (piano)	Fantasia on the harp by Bochsá – Cecelia Ashe; grand concertante for harp and piano by Stiebalt – Miss Ashe and Eliza Ashe	<i>DEM</i> , 12 May 1828
Mr Forde's concert at the Theatre Royal, George's Street, Cork	16 October 1829	Mrs & Miss Ashe, the Misses Emma & Eliza Ashe, Mr Brough, Mr Allen, Mr James Roche, Mr Bowden (leader), Mr Piggott (cello), Mr Forde (flute)	'The Minstrel Boy' – Miss Ashe accompanied by Eliza Ashe on harp	<i>CC</i> , 15 October 1829
Mrs and the Misses Ashe's concert at the Corporation Hall, Derry	6 October 1830	Mrs and the Misses Ashe	Fantasia on the harp by Labarre – Miss Ashe; duet for harp and piano by Bochsá –	<i>Londonderry Sentinel</i> , 2 October 1830

Concert	Date	Other performers	Harp repertoire	Reference
			the Misses Ashe	
The Misses Ashe's concert at the Rotunda	6 May 1831	Mr, Mrs and the Misses Ashe, Mr Penson, Mr Piggott, Mr Harrington, W.S. Conran (piano)	Overture to William Tell by Bochsa – Miss F Ashe and Mr W.S. Conran; Fantasia Irlandoise by Labarre – C Ashe.	<i>FJ</i> , 9 May 1831
The Misses Ashe's concert at the Rotunda	30 April 1832	The Misses Ashe, Signor Sapio, W.S. Conran (piano)	Erin's Grand Bardic Effusions by Bochsa – C Ashe; Variations on the Harp to Weber's famous Waltz by Bochsa – Miss C Ashe	<i>SNL</i> , 30 April 1832
Mr Piggott's concert at the Rotunda	11 May 1833	Madame D'Alberti, Miss C Ashe (harp), Miss F Ashe, Miss Fanny Healy, Mr Bedford, Mr Sapio, Mr Stodhart, Mr Piggott, Mr Mackinstosh (violin), Mr Lanza (conductor)	Not listed	<i>DEP</i> , 2 May 1833
The Misses Ashe's concert at the Rotunda in Dublin	6 February 1835	Leader Mr Wallace, flute Mr Wilkinson, cello Mr Piggott, Signor Sapio, Signora Cesari (her last appearance), piano W.S. Conran	Overture for seven harps by Bochsa. Harpists Fanny Ashe, Cecelia Ashe, the Messrs Lewis, Mrs Gregory, Mr Egan, Mr A.N. Pothonier	<i>DEP</i> , 3 February 1835

Although the Ashe sisters were often described nebulously in concert programmes and reviews, individually as 'Miss Ashe' or collectively as 'the Misses Ashe', definitive references to Emma, Eliza, Fanny and Cecelia performing on the pedal harp in Ireland

have been traced. In June 1825, Emma Ashe was listed as one six pedal harpists performing Bochsa's 'Grand Bardic Overture' at the Rotunda, alongside her sister, Eliza, siblings Miss Egan and John Egan, Miss Attwood and Mr Percival.¹⁹⁷ In the ensuing years, Emma appears to have primarily concentrated on singing, and is noted as having performed at family concerts in Dublin and Cork.¹⁹⁸ Fanny, who was the second youngest Ashe sisters, made her public début in 1830, when she performed at the Misses Ashe's concert at the Rotunda. In the *Freeman's Journal*, she was described as 'a little budding, blooming beauty' whose performance on the harp, accompanied by her sister on the piano, gained considerable applause.¹⁹⁹ In 1835, Fanny was one of six Irish pedal harpists to perform Bochsa's 'Overture for six harps' at the Misses Ashe's concert at the Rotunda; also performing this work were her sister Cecelia, Mr Lewis and his son, Daniel Lewis, Mrs Gregory and Alexander de Pothonier.²⁰⁰ References to her performing in Ireland after 1835 have not been traced, although it is possible that she partook in the Misses Ashe's concerts, held annually at their residence, Ely Place, between 1830 and 1840.²⁰¹

Eliza and Cecelia Ashe appear to have been the most proficient pedal harpists in the Ashe family. As noted, Eliza was one of six Irish pedal harpists to perform at the Rotunda in June 1825. A few weeks prior to this concert, she performed a solo piece, 'a favourite Introduction and Air with variations' by Bochsa, at her parents' concert at the Masonic Hall on Dawson Street.²⁰² In 1828, she was one of the first Irish pedal harpists to perform publicly in Cork when she played a solo work by Bochsa at her mother's concert at the Music Hall on Tuckey Street in August.²⁰³ She returned to Cork the following year and performed works by Bochsa and Labarre at the Theatre Royal and Imperial Hotel in the

197 *SNL*, 27 May 1825. Concert advertised for 3 June.

198 For example, at Mr Piggott's concert at the Rotunda on 20 February 1827, Emma and Eliza Ashe were listed among the principal vocalists. Eliza and G. Connell were listed as harpists. See programme in *SNL*, 17 February 1827. Emma was a vocalist at Mr Forde's benefit concert at the Theatre Royal in Cork on 23 October 1829. See programme in *SRCCC*, 22 October 1829.

199 *FJ*, 10 May 1830.

200 Advertised as 'The Misses Ashe Annual Concert'. *SNL*, 31 January 1835.

201 Advertisement for concert on 7 May 1830. *SNL*, 23 April 1830. Advertisement for concert on 26 March 1840 at 21 Ely Place. *SNL*, 24 March 1840.

202 Advertisement for Mr and Mrs Ashe's 'fourth and last' concert at the Masonic Hall on Friday 6 May 1825. *SNL*, 4 May 1825.

203 *SRCCC*, 12 August 1828 See Chapter 4 for further information on the pedal harp in Cork in the early nineteenth century. She performed a solo work by Bochsa in the Assembly Rooms in Kinsale the following week. *CC*, 16 August 1828 (concert on 21 August).

city, and at the Assembly Rooms in Mallow.²⁰⁴ Like her sisters, Eliza also participated in concerts as a vocalist. At Mr Piggott's concert at the Rotunda in 1827, she was listed as a vocal performer alongside her mother, Mrs Ashe, and sister, Emma. She is also noted as having performed pedal harp at this event, alongside fellow Irish pedal harpist Mr G. Connell.²⁰⁵

Born in 1816, Cecelia was the youngest of the Ashe sisters.²⁰⁶ She made her first public appearance in Dublin in June 1827 alongside her parents in the Masonic Hall on Molesworth Street in Dublin.²⁰⁷ A review of this concert in the *Dublin Evening Post* singled out the performance of Bochsa's harp duet, played by Cecelia and her sister Eliza, as 'the novelty of the night', and Cecelia was described as having 'a rare precocity of musical intellect.'²⁰⁸ Taught by Bochsa, Cecelia was the most prolific pedal harpist in the Ashe family.²⁰⁹ She performed extensively in Ireland between 1827 and 1840 and was the first Irish pedal harpist to showcase Bochsa's 'New Harp Effects'.²¹⁰ Cecelia first introduced these novel 'Effects' at the Imperial Hotel in Cork on 18 September 1832, and subsequently in Dublin at two concerts at the Ashe family residence, 21 Ely Place, Dublin.²¹¹ A link between the Ashe family and Bochsa can be traced back to 1817, when Bochsa was engaged by Andrew Ashe to perform at the Assembly Rooms in Bristol, as part of a series of Five Subscription Concerts.²¹² When Bochsa visited Ireland in 1837, Cecelia and her sisters participated in two of his concerts at the Rotunda. An advertisement for the first of these concerts in the *Dublin Morning Register* stated that Bochsa would be assisted by 'Miss Ashe, Miss F Ashe, Miss C Ashe and Mr

204 A fantasia by Labarre at her mother's concert at the Imperial Hotel, Cork on 22 September 1829. *SRCCC*, September 1829. Mr Forde's grand concert at the Theatre Royal on 23 October 1829. Sisters Emma and Eliza listed in concert programme along with their parents. *CC*, 22 October 1829. Also Mr Forde's concert at the Theatre Royal on 16 October 1829. 'Fantasia Irlandaises' (probably by Labarre) listed in concert programme. *SRCCC*, 15 October 1829.

205 *SNL*, 16 February 1827. Concert on 20 February 1827.

206 Announcement of birth in *Bristol Mirror*, 27 July 1816.

207 *DEPost*, 31 May 1827.

208 *DEPost*, 7 June 1827.

209 Cecelia was described as 'Bochsa's pupil in London' in review of one of two concerts that took place at her residence, Ely Place, Dublin on 27 November 1832. *SNL*, 29 November 1832. The second concert took place on 15 December 1832. At these concerts, Cecelia introduced Bochsa's 'New Harp Effects' to Dublin audiences for the first time. See *DEP*, 13 December 1832.

210 Bochsa's 'New Harp Effects' were published in 1832 by Goulding & D'Almaine, London. See Chapter 5. Cecelia performed these 'Effects' for the first time at the Imperial Hotel in Cork on 18 September 1832. See *CC*, 18 September 1832.

211 *CC*, 8 September 1832. In Dublin, concerts held on 27 November 1832 and 15 December 1832. An advertisement for the second concert in *SNL* (12 December 1832) stated that Cecelia would introduce Bochsa's 'New Harp Effects' for the second time in Dublin.

212 Note that this was the year that Bochsa relocated to England. See *Bristol Mirror*, 6 December 1817.

Pothonier'.²¹³ At Bochsas's second concert, Cecelia performed a duet with Bochsas entitled 'Conversation Harmonique',²¹⁴ described in the *Dublin Evening Packet* as 'decidedly a very charming and interesting performance.'²¹⁵ In 1837, Cecelia also performed Labarre's 'Fantasia on the Greek chorus from the Siege of Corinth' at Swiss virtuoso Sigismund Thalberg's concert at the Rotunda in December 1837.²¹⁶ She was also featured as a soloist at French pianist Henri Herz' concerts in Dublin and Limerick in 1834, 1836 and 1839.²¹⁷

Towards the end of Cecelia's career as a harpist, between 1836 and 1839, she was listed as 'Professor of the Pedal Harp' at Miss Dunbarr's Seminary, 79 Stephens Green South.²¹⁸ The fact that she was expressly engaged by Marcus Moses to sell an Érard pedal harp in 1837 suggests that she was had credible influence as an Irish pedal harpist, and was well known to the public.²¹⁹ A significant decline in the number of references to Cecelia Ashe in the press indicates that her activity as a harpist decreased after her father's death in 1838 and her marriage to Robert Bell in 1840.²²⁰ In March 1840, advertisements for an imminent concert at Morrisson's Great Rooms, list her as one of the principal performers; however, no subsequent accounts of this concert have been traced.²²¹

2.2.5 Griffith Pritchard Lewis (c.1767-1852) and Daniel Griffith Lewis (dates unknown)

In Chapter 1, 'Mr Lewis' was identified as one of the first pedal harp teachers in Dublin. In 1789, his advertisement for pedal harp tuition in *Saunders' Newsletter* signalled a

213 *Dublin Morning Register*, 11 January 1837.

214 Programme in *SNL*, 10 March 1837.

215 *DEP*, 14 January 1837.

216 In a programme for this concert, printed in the *DMR* on 15 December 1837, Cecelia's solo piece was listed as 'Fantasia on the Greek Chorus from the Siege of Corinth' by Labarre.

217 At Henri Herz's concert at the Rotunda on 12 November 1834, Cecelia Ashe performed a solo on the harp. A programme for this concert was printed in *DMR*, 8 November 1834. 'The Misses Ashe' were also listed as vocalists. The Misses Ashe were listed as performers at Herz' concert in Swinburn's Rooms in Limerick (date of concert 17 October 1836) in a programme printed in the *Limerick Chronicle*, 15 October 1836.

218 *WDWM*, 20 August, 1836, *DEP*, 7 January 1839.

219 *SNL*, 30 December 1837: 'Marcus Moses begs to announce that he has received a supply of the above-mentioned highly improved instruments, imported direct from the manufacturer, per the London Steam Packet of last week, including the harp selected by Miss Cecelia Ashe for her performance at the morning concert of M Thalberg on Saturday last.'

220 From the 'Marriages' section of the Southern Reporter and Cork Commercial Courier, 5 November 1840: 'On the 2nd inst. in Monkstown Church, Dublin, by the Rev. John Grant, Robert Bell, Esq. to Cecilia Annette, youngest daughter of the late Andrew Ashe, Esq.'

221 *DEP*, 24 March 1840 and *DEM*, 25 March 1840.

burgeoning pedal harp tradition in Ireland.²²² Directed at ladies, this advertisement was placed six months prior to Lewis' arrival in Dublin so that prospective students had ample time to source instruments from abroad.²²³ Mr Lewis, described as 'the celebrated player on the pedal harp', returned to Dublin to teach in 1804.²²⁴ In May 1806, he performed a 'sonata on the harp' by Mozart at a 'Grand Miscellaneous Concert' at the Rotunda.²²⁵

This study hypothesises that the aforementioned Mr Lewis was Griffith Pritchard (G.P.) Lewis, a pedal harpist who was prominent in Dublin music circles between 1835 and 1844.²²⁶ Lewis' place of birth is unknown; however, church records show that he married Margaret Leary in St. Munchin's church in Limerick in 1802.²²⁷ The couple had at least three children: Daniel Griffith (D.G.), Richard John (R.J.) and William.²²⁸ Both Daniel and Richard followed their father into the music profession and participated in concerts in Dublin in the 1830s and 40s. In the 1845 edition of *The Dublin Almanac and General Register of Ireland*, Griffith Lewis and his son Daniel were listed as professors of the pedal harp, while Richard was listed as a professor of the pianoforte.²²⁹

An entry in *The City of Dublin and Hibernian Provincial Directory* confirms that the Lewis family resided at Gordon's Place in 1824.²³⁰ It has yet to be established where they were based between 1807 and 1824, although the fact that G.P. Lewis was married in Limerick indicates a connection to the southwest of Ireland. G.P. Lewis' first public appearance following this hiatus of almost thirty years appears to have been at the Misses Ashes' concert at the Rotunda in February 1835. At this concert, he participated in a performance of Bochsa's 'Overture for Six Harps' alongside five other Irish pedal harpists, including his son Daniel, Cecelia Ashe, Fanny Ashe, Alexander de Pothonier

222 See Chapter 1.

223 *SNL*, 24 and 26 June 1789.

224 *SNL*, 28 December 1804. Note that he again resided at 4 Kildare Street at the home of Mr Prendergast Smith.

225 *SNL*, 24 May 1806.

226 Referred to as G.P. Lewis in death notice of Margaret. See *The Pilot*, 4 February 1846; referred to as Griffith Pritchard in a notice of his hearing at the Insolvent Debtors' Court. See *Dublin Mercantile Advertiser and Weekly Price Current*, 9 September 1842.

227 Marriage confirmed in 'Ireland, select marriages, 1619-1898', www.ancestry.co.uk, accessed 2 September 2017. In Margaret's death notice, she was described as 'wife of G.P. Lewis, professor of the harp'. See death notice in *The Pilot*, 4 February 1846.

228 Death notice of William Lewis in *DEP*, 26 March 1840 as follows: 'March 19 in Gordon's Place, Portobello, in the 28th year of his age, sincerely lamented by his family and friends, William, third son of Mr G.P. Lewis, Professor of the Harp.'

229 *Dublin Almanac and General Register of Ireland* (1845 edition), published by Petticrew & Oulton, www.findmypast.ie, accessed 25 January 2020.

230 *Pigot & Co.'s City of Dublin and Hibernian Provincial Directory* (1824), www.findmypast.ie, accessed on 27 January 2020.

and Mrs Gregory.²³¹ In April 1835, Lewis organised his first concert at the Rotunda. His eponymous concert became an annual event in the Rotunda calendar until 1844.²³² Mr Lewis' concerts tended to follow an archetypal format, invariably featuring a harp solo by himself, a harp solo by Daniel, a piano solo by Richard, and miscellaneous vocal and instrumental performances by other local musicians. In the lifespan of these concerts, a number of well-known musicians were engaged to perform. Michael William Balfe was the violinist and leader at Lewis' inaugural concert in 1835.²³³ Irish pedal harpist Cecelia Ashe performed solo pieces at each of Mr Lewis' concerts between 1835 and 1837. Violinist James Barton featured at Lewis' concerts in 1837 and 1838, as did his contemporary R.M. Levey between 1839 and 1841. Cellist Samuel Pigott featured at the concerts between 1835 and 1838, and tenor Signor Sapio participated in each of Mr Lewis' concerts between 1835 and 1844.²³⁴

A common thread in reviews of Mr Lewis' concerts, and, strengthening the hypothesis that he was the same harpist who had been active in Ireland between 1789 and 1806, is that attention was regularly drawn to his age. Following his inaugural Rotunda concert in 1835, for example, an article in the *Dublin Evening Packet* described 'Mr Lewis' as 'the venerable *harpiste*' (italics copied).²³⁵ In the *Dublin Morning Register*, Mr Lewis was referred to as 'a very elderly gentleman' whose solo on the harp was 'hailed with the warmest applause'.²³⁶ References to Lewis' age suggest that it was then a rarity for a pedal harpist of his generation (Mr Lewis would have been seventy years of age in 1837)

231 It is unclear whether or not this 'Overture' was for six or seven harps. One advertisement in *SNL* on 31 January 1835 stated that it was for six harps and named the performers as Miss C Ashe, Miss F Ashe, Mr A de Pothonier, Mrs Gregory, Mr Lewis and Mr D.G. Lewis. Advertisements closer to the date of the concert e.g. in *SNL* on 6 February (the day of the concert) state that the Overture is for seven harps, and adds 'Mr Egan' to the list of harpists. A review of the concert in *SNL* on 7 February states that the Overture for Seven Harps was played with 'considerable effect, although it only lists six out of the seven harpists as performers.

232 Note that no concert by Mr Lewis was documented in 1842.

233 *DMR*, 28 April 1835.

234 Programmes for Lewis' concerts between 1835 and 1844 printed in: *DMR*, 28 April 1835, *DMR*, 27 April 1836, *DMR*, 22 May 1837, *DEM*, 16 May 1838, *SNL*, 12 June 1839, *DMR*, 10 May 1841, *SNL*, 7 June 1843, *SNL*, 5 June 1844; Review of concert in *DMR*, 13 June 1840.

235 *DEP*, 30 April 1835.

236 *DEP* 30 April 1835 and *Dublin Morning Register*, 29 April 1835. In 1839, a review in the *Dublin Morning Register* commented on his 'venerable appearance.' *DMR*, 18 June 1839. In 1840, a review of his annual concert in the Rotunda described how 'the veteran Lewis was received in a manner which must have delighted his old heart.' *DMR*, 13 June 1840.

to perform in public. A death notice, published the *Limerick and Clare Examiner* in 1852, is evidence that G.P. Lewis lived to the age of eighty-five years.²³⁷

It is difficult to gauge whether or not Mr Lewis transitioned from a single-action to double-action pedal harp over the course of his career. Active as a teacher and performer before 1810, he would have certainly begun his career on a single-action instrument. Programmes printed in anticipation of his Rotunda concerts between 1835 and 1844 offer no clues in relation to the type of instrument he used as he tended to perform selections of unspecified Irish melodies.²³⁸ An advertisement for the sale of a single-action pedal harp from 2 Gordon Place in 1839, the Lewis family residence in Dublin, does not prove that Mr Lewis had eschewed the older instrument for its modern replacement as it was relatively common for well-known pedal harpists to act as agents for instrument sellers. In contrast to his father, Daniel Lewis is noted to have performed works from the wider canon of European repertoire, including the works of Bochsa and Parish Alvars. In 1843, for example, he performed a ‘fantasia’ by Parish Alvars, said to have been the work’s premiere in Ireland.²³⁹ This suggests that he performed on a double-action instrument, which, by the 1830s and 1840s, was the accepted standard among amateur and professional harpists.

A search of the National Library of Ireland online catalogue confirms that a number of G.P. Lewis’ arrangements for pedal harp were published in Dublin. Of six items contained in the Joly Collection, there are three copies of a rondo on the Irish air ‘Paddy O Rafferty’, one copy of a fantasia on ‘The Bard’s Legacy’, one copy of a fantasia on a Swiss air and one copy of an ‘Impromptu and Variations’ on an Indian air.²⁴⁰ Library searches beyond this have proved futile, suggesting that Lewis’ publications were not widely circulated. One reference to a ‘Grand Sonata for the Harp’ by G.P. Lewis, dated 1814, has been traced to Stationers’ Hall in London.²⁴¹

237 Death notice in *Limerick and Clare Examiner*, 25 August 1852.

238 Concert programmes tended not to be forthcoming in detailing which Irish airs were performed by Mr Lewis, although, in one concert programme, the Irish air ‘Kitty Tyrell’ was cited. Works performed by Daniel included repertoire by Bochsa, including ‘Souvenir of Sir Walter Scott’ (1839), ‘Grand and Brilliant Variations on the March in Othello’ (1841) and ‘Fantasia on Deh non ferrer’ (1844). See Appendix III.

239 *SNL*, 4 June 1843.

240 See Chapter 5.

241 Michael Kasser. *Music Entries at Stationer’s Hall 1710-1818* (London: Routledge, 2016), 673.

Following his father's death in 1852, Daniel continued to teach pedal harp at 2 Gordon's Place; however, he does not appear to have performed publicly.²⁴² This may indicate that Daniel was somewhat reliant on his father's established reputation as a pedal harpist as a means of generating publicity for his performances. A review of Irish pedal harpists in the period 1800-1850 suggests that a prerequisite to establishing a public profile was having a parent who was either a pedal harpist or musician, or a parent who was involved in the music trade. Miss Kearns, Mr de Pothonier, Miss Cheese, the Ashe sisters and Daniel Kearns are all a testament to this archetype.

II Pedagogy

Advertisements for pedal harp tuition in the nineteenth century are a barometer of pedagogical activity; however, in isolation, they depict an incomplete narrative, given that they do not account for teachers who operated on a word-of-mouth basis who did not advertise in the press. An additional limitation of teaching advertisements is that, with the exception of some teachers resident in Ireland in the 1830s who professed to teach Bochsa's 'New Harp Effects', there appears to be no information on pedagogical trends and specific teaching methods.²⁴³ This leaves it very much open to conjecture what was taught and performed by amateur Irish pedal harpists, although repertoire collections are certainly a valuable guide in this regard.²⁴⁴ The frequency of advertisements for pedal harp tuition is not a definitive guide of pedagogical activity; however, advertisements are a valuable primary resource in terms of assembling names and addresses, and drawing connections between teachers and students. Two important points are also illuminated through the medium of advertisements. Firstly, they provide evidence that pedal harp tuition was a private phenomenon between 1800 and 1850. Secondly, they point to the

242 Entries in *Thom's Almanac* under 'Professors of Music and Singing' between 1847 and 1879 confirm that Griffith Lewis and his son Daniel Griffith (D.G.) Lewis were listed as Professors of the Harp at 2 Gordon's Place. *Thom's Almanac*, www.findmypast.co.uk, accessed 14 June 2019.

243 Bochsa's 'Explanations of his New Harp Effects' was a pedagogical method published by Goulding & D'Almaine in London in 1832. It contains instructions on how to perform particular harp techniques including harmonics and enharmonic arpeggios. The publication also includes compositions by Bochsa that call for these 'effects' to be performed. In the 1830s, Mrs Harrington, Cecelia Ashe, Miss Kearns, Alexander de Pothonier and Charlotte Despard professed to teach Bochsa's 'New Harp Effects'. See Sections 2.1 and 2.2.

244 See Chapter 5.

fact that in amateur circles, the tradition was, for the most part, taught and practised by women.

Between 1800 and 1850, pedal harp tuition in Ireland could be accessed in two ways. The first was by engaging a private instructor and the second was by enrolling in a private institution with a resident harp teacher. Private harp teachers who were sole practitioners operated from their residences, which tended to be centrally located in urban areas. Some also offered to travel to their students' homes if they were located within a certain geographical radius. In the early 1800s, Mrs Kearns set a precedent by charging more to students who wished to be taught at home.²⁴⁵ This practice was presumably perpetuated by other harpists who offered to teach outside their own residences. In the 1830s, the opening of the Dublin and Kingstown (now Dun Laoghaire) Railway expanded commuter options for peripatetic harp teachers. This extension of the railway line would have undoubtedly facilitated greater access to harp tuition. Mrs Harrington, for example, advertised her availability to teach in three towns that were sequentially located along the Dublin and Kingstown line in 1837: Blackrock, Monkstown and Kingstown. Residing at Great Brunswick Street at this time, she was only a short walk to the city rail terminus on Westland Row.²⁴⁶ Similarly, Miss Jackson (granddaughter of harp-maker John Egan), was happy to travel to her pupils' homes if located on either the Kingstown train line or on the railway line between Dublin and Drogheda, which was officially opened in 1844.²⁴⁷

Advertisements for pedal harp tuition in the period 1800-1850 were somewhat repetitive in terms of their target market and the information therein contained. Often, they were directed at 'ladies', and enquiries could either be made at a harp teacher's private residence or at a local music shop. Some harp teachers cited the approbation of former students or an affiliation to a well-known harpist, presumably in a bid to generate business. For example, Miss C Cooney, who taught pedal harp in Dublin between November 1804 and May 1806, purported to have been taught pedal harp by Madame O'Hegerty, a French lady who had come to reside in Dublin in the aftermath of the French

245 *SNL*, 31 December 1799 An advertisement states that Mrs Kearns charges no entrance to ladies who come to her house, but 'to those ladies who wish to have lessons from her at their houses, the terms as usual.'

246 *SNL*, 4 November 1837. Mrs Harrington's address is listed as 18 Erne Street, Great Brunswick Street.

247 Construction was begun on the Dublin and Drogheda railway line in 1837 and was completed in 1844. See, for example, *Dublin Monitor*, 15 April 1844. An advertisement for Jackson's teaching states: 'Miss J. also attends Kingstown and Drogheda, and intermediate stations.' *DWR*, 7 February 1846.

Revolution.²⁴⁸ According to Hogan, O’Hegerty – the wife of General Count O’Hegerty, an ex-officer in the Irish brigade of the French army – was a proficient pedal harpist who facilitated musical *soirées* at her residence in St. Stephen’s Green in the 1790s.²⁴⁹

Prior to 1810, all pedal harps in Ireland, and indeed Europe, were of single-action construction. The movement from single-action to double-action harp was not necessarily a linear process, and not all harpists were keen to adapt to the newer instrument. For example, Dorette Spohr, harpist and wife of eminent composer Louis Spohr, found the transition from single- to double-action harp too difficult, and chose to retire from her performance career rather than adapt to the modern instrument.²⁵⁰ For business reasons, French harp-maker François Joseph Naderman remained a steadfast and lifelong exponent of the single-action pedal harp, despite its harmonic limitations.²⁵¹ In Ireland, it is possible that there were harpists like Spohr and Naderman who, for various reasons, continued to perform and teach on the single-action pedal harp. However, it is not possible to elaborate beyond a presumption on this subject, particularly with regard to pedagogy. For the most part, advertisements for teaching did not specify the specific pedal harp being taught.²⁵² It is possible that a gentleman by the name of Mr Taylor, who claimed to be a former student of Belgian harpist François Dizi (1780-1840), was the first teacher of the double-action pedal harp in Ireland. In October 1815, an advertisement for Taylor’s teaching appeared in *Saunders’ Newsletter*, as follows:

TO THE LOVERS OF THE HARP

This Capital never had a better opportunity to know the real effect of this brilliant instrument, no proper teacher having ever visited our country. Mr Taylor, the only pupil to whom the celebrated Dizi has imparted his system of displaying all the power of this charming instrument, either on the single or double movement harp, is just arrived, and proposes, if encouraged, to take pupils.²⁵³

Pedal harpists of foreign extraction, including the likes of Mr Taylor, made a vital contribution to pedal harp tuition in Ireland. Bochsa was, undoubtedly, the most

248 In an advertisement for her teaching, Miss Cooney purported to have been taught piano by Clementi and harp by ‘Madame O’Hegerty’ of Dublin. *Hibernian Journal*, 11 January 1805.

249 Note Hogan’s spelling of ‘O Haggerty’. In 1796, novelist and socialite Lady Morgan (Sydney Owenson) and her sister attended a musical evening at the O’Haggerty residence on St. Stephen’s Green, Dublin. Hogan, 87.

250 Rensch, *Harps & Harpists*, 187.

251 See Chapter 1.

252 In concert programmes where specific repertoire was listed, it is sometimes possible to conclude that a harp was of single- or double-action construction; however, it should be taken into account that repertoire originally written for single-action pedal harp was seamlessly transferable to a double-action instrument, but not vice versa.

253 *SNL*, 7 October 1815.

influential pedagogue in Ireland prior to 1850. Even in his absence, and as discussed in Section 2.1 and 2.2, his pedagogical ideas were channelled through his former students, including Miss Kearns, Cecelia Ashe, Alexander de Pothonier, Mrs Harrington, Miss Jackson and Charlotte Despard. Collectively these teachers ensured that Irish pedal harpists were *au fait* with contemporary repertoire and teaching methods, including Bochsá's 'New Harp Effects'.²⁵⁴ Judging by the number of pedal harp teachers who professed to have been taught by him, Bochsá was the harpist with whom a connection was valuable in terms of pedagogical influence.

Prior to 1850, institutions that offered pedal harp tuition included musical academies dedicated solely to instrumental and vocal tuition, and educational seminaries for ladies that offered a broad spectrum of subjects including music, languages, history, geography, science and arithmetic. Between 1800 and 1850, a number of musical academies offered instruction on the pedal harp. Examples include academies run by Mr Spray, Mr Blewit and Mr Arnold. Mrs Allen's Academy at 5 Gardiner's Row in Dublin, which was a precursor to the Irish Academy of Music, established in 1848, does not appear to have offered harp classes, although Mrs Allen's daughter Theodosia is known to have studied pedal harp privately with Almira Cheese.²⁵⁵ Mrs Jackson established a 'Harp Academy' at her residence, 32 Grafton Street, in 1830, however the term 'academy', if defined by contemporary standards, is misleading in this instance, as there is no evidence of any other harp teachers at this address.

Seminaries for ladies that offered diverse curricula were ubiquitous in urban areas prior to 1850. These facilities were marketed as exclusive institutions, specifically established for educating women from privileged backgrounds. In 1822, for example, an advertisement for Mrs Gahan's seminary, located at Mountjoy Square in Dublin, offered a course that included 'every aspect of Female accomplishment', including instruction on the harp.²⁵⁶ Mrs Gahan specifically targeted what was described in *SNL* as 'young Ladies of a select class'.²⁵⁷ Institutions such as the one operated by Mrs Gahan offered day and

254 Published in 1832, Bochsá's 'Explanations of his New Harp Effects' contained novel performance techniques, including, for example, double and triple harmonics, and detailed written explanations of how to effect these techniques. See Chapter 5.

255 Theodosia Allen's first performances on the pedal harp was at her mother Mrs Allen's concert at Allen's Academy on Gardiner's Row on 23 April 1842. In a review of the concert, Theodosia is described as 'a pupil of Miss Cheese'. *DEP*, 26 April 1842.

256 *SNL*, 29 July 1822.

257 *SNL*, 29 July 1822.

boarding facilities for ladies, and were generally fronted by a matriarchal figure assisted by one or more family members. Mother-daughter partnerships were particularly common. For example, Charlotte Maria Despard established a ‘Boarding School and Musical Seminary’ under the direction of her mother Mrs Despard at 25 Harcourt Street in Dublin in 1822.²⁵⁸ Prior to this, the pair had collaborated on a similar venture in Portarlington, Co. Laois.²⁵⁹ Despard’s seminary was operational until at least 1839 at various addresses in Dublin, including 32 Upper Merrion Street and 69 St. Stephen’s Green South.²⁶⁰

Table 2.4 outlines the main institutions at which pedal harp tuition was offered between 1800 and 1850. The first record has been traced to 1804, a seminary operated by ‘an English gentlewoman’ on Capel Street in Dublin. Having a capacity for six young ladies, this institution was described in *SNL* as catering for ‘every branch of religious, moral and intellectual accomplishments.’²⁶¹ Table 2.4 illuminates the fact that institutions at which the pedal harp was taught were concentrated in Dublin in the period 1800-1850. That these institutions were, by in large, not only operated by women, but also catered exclusively for the education of women, is significant from a gender stereotyping perspective. Advertisements for these institutions are evidence that the amateur pedal harp tradition in Ireland was predominated by ladies. Although data from these private institutions is not available, the fact that pedal harp tuition was specifically advertised points to an underlying market demand, albeit an unquantifiable one.

258 *SNL*, 18 May 1832.

259 *SNL*, 9 November 1808. Mrs Despard has ‘taken into partnership with her eldest daughter, whose literary requirements in the French and Italian languages, and decided talents for music, so eminently cultivated as to meet the approbation of the first masters.’

260 Move to Merrion Street in 1827. *SNL*, 27 July 1827. It has not been clarified when move to 69 St. Stephen’s Green South took place. Advertisements for Stephen’s Green premises in 1835 (*SNL*, 19 October 1835) and 1839 (*SNL*, 30 July 1839).

261 *SNL*, 9 November 1804.

Table 2.4 Institutions at which pedal harp was taught: 1800-1850

Name & Address	Owner	Harp tutor	Subjects offered	Notes	Terms	Year	Reference
'Seminary'. Commands to M.C.T., 94 Capel Street, Dublin	'An English gentlewoman'	English lady	Languages, history, geography, chronology, use of the globes, writing, arithmetic, fancy works, dancing, drawing, piano, pedal harp		100 guineas a year	1804	<i>SNL</i> , 9 November 1804
Musical Academy, Aungier Street	Mr Spray and Mr Smith	?	Singing, piano, harp		1 guinea per month for harp alone	1815	<i>SNL</i> , 15 September 1815
'Establishment for the instruction of young ladies', 2 Arthurs Place, Belfast	Mrs and the Misses Houghton	?	Italian, drawing, dancing, pedal harp, piano, arithmetic, English, History, Geography, Astronomy & Globes		?	1816	<i>BCC</i> , 18 November 1816
Unnamed, Blackrock, Dublin	Mr & Mrs Gahan	Mrs Kearns	?	Other teachers: Dr Cogan, Mr Spray, Mr Logier	20 guineas per annum, including board	1815	<i>DEP</i> , 19 August 1815
'An Approved and Improving System of Musical Tuition and Seminary, 83 Mount Street	Mrs & Miss Kearns	Miss Kearns			'moderate'	1821	<i>DEP</i> , 7 April 1821
Mountjoy-Square Seminary	Mrs Gahan	Mrs Gahan	Not listed	Takes 10 boarders per year	20 guineas per quarter. Harp and singing not included.	1822	<i>SNL</i> , 29 July 1822
Tranquilla Boarding and Day School, Rathmines	Mrs Hogan	Mrs Jackson	Music & Singing, Pedal harp, French, Italian, dancing, drawing, history,		Boarders 30 guineas per		

Name & Address	Owner	Harp tutor	Subjects offered	Notes	Terms	Year	Reference
			geography, astronomy, use of the globes, writing, arithmetic		annum. Singing and harp extra.		
The Ladies' Seminary, 79 St. Stephen's Green South	Miss Dunbar	Mr G Connell (1842), Cecelia Ashe (1836)	Piano, singing, pedal harp, drawing, dancing, writing, use of the globes, construction of maps		?	1842	<i>SNL</i> , 9 Feb 1836, <i>DEP</i> , 4 August 1842

III Trade

Much of the data that informs this section concerns the sale and supply of pedal harps; however, it should be acknowledged that the instruments constituted only one aspect of Ireland's pedal harp trade. In addition to importing pedal harps for sale and hire, music shops stocked accessories such as harp strings and sold tickets for concerts featuring performances on the pedal harp. Their owners and employees were also important custodians of information pertaining to private harp tuition offered by visiting virtuosi and Irish pedal harpists.

Between c.1790 and 1850, advertisements provide some evidence of the sheet music for pedal harp that was available to purchase in Irish music shops; however, there is not a sufficient body of data to extrapolate tangible market demands, thus placing a greater emphasis on the interpretation of data from repertoire collections (Chapter 5). The limited data that are available in relation to the sale and supply of sheet music suggests that Irish music shops imported publications in a timely fashion, presumably guided by market trends that continuously infiltrated the Irish music scene from London. As discussed in Section 2.2.1, Elizabeth Mountain travelled to London as early as 1790 to purchase sheet music that was subsequently imported to Dublin and sold at her father's music shop on Grafton Street. Among the items she purchased was a harp concerto by J.B. Krumpholtz, which had been published earlier that year.⁴⁰⁴ Isaac Willis, who ran the Musical Circulating Library on Westmoreland Street between c.1816 and 1836, appears also to have responded promptly to the publication of new pedal harp music. In November 1824, Labarre's recently published work 'Kathleen O'More with variations for the harp' was listed among the music scores that were in stock at his Dublin premises.⁴⁰⁵ Having a well-established branch of his music business in London, Willis was undoubtedly at an advantage in terms of his access to the latest publications, the majority of which were published in London.⁴⁰⁶

404 'Mountain begs to inform the public his daughter is just arrived from London, where she has opened a correspondence with the first musical houses there, and selected from their publications, an extensive variety, which he has now received.' *DEPost*, 27 November 1790. Note that Krumpholtz' harp concerto was published in c.1790 by T. Preston in London.

405 See, for example, advertisement for 'New Music' at I. Willis & Co., 7 Westmoreland Street, which lists 55 St. James' Street, London as an alternative address. *SNL*, 4 December 1824.

406 The vast majority of pedal harp repertoire identified in nineteenth-century Irish collections was published in London.

Willis' advertisements reveal that Labarre's pedal harp repertoire was in circulation in Ireland at least four years before Labarre's first and only visit in 1828. This was also the case with Bochsá, whose repertoire was in circulation at least six years before his first visit to Ireland in 1821.⁴⁰⁷ Between 1832 and 1845, Bochsá's 'New Harp Effects', published by D'Almaine in London in 1832, was the most frequently referenced harp publication in the Irish press. In general, references to the 'New Harp Effects' was in a teaching capacity, suggesting that this publication was an important pedagogical resource in Ireland. Music shops in Dublin and Cork are noted to have stocked Bochsá's 'New Harp Effects', and it is conceivable that they did so in response to the emerging pedagogical trends, led initially by Bochsá's former students, Mrs Harrington and Cecelia Ashe. In the ensuing years, aside from Bochsá himself, at least four more Irish pedal harpists proliferated Bochsá's teaching ideologies in the form of his 'New Harp Effects', ensuring that he was the most influential pedal harpist in Ireland prior to 1850.⁴⁰⁸

The demand for pedal harps, fuelled initially by press attention generated by foreign virtuosi, was fulfilled by a multitude of tradespeople, including harp maker John Egan and the proprietors of various music shops. As discussed in Chapter 1, the first pedal harps were imported into Ireland in the 1790s. The earliest advertisements for the sale of pedal harps in Ireland were scant in detail, and described pedal harps in vague terms; for example, Joseph Kearns, husband of pedal harpist Mrs Kearns, listed 'some fine tone French pedal harps' amidst the stock for sale at his music shop on Grafton Street in 1793.⁴⁰⁹ Prior to 1800, only definitive references to French-made pedal harps, namely by Cousineau and Naderman, have been noted in Ireland.⁴¹⁰ English-made pedal harps percolated into the Irish market in the early 1800s, an organic symptom of the decentralisation of harp-making from Paris to London. For example, in October 1802, Michael Goulding listed a pedal harp by 'Meyer, London' among a variety of items for

407 See Sections 2.1.2 and 2.2.2.

408 Advertisement for Alday & Co., 10 Dame Street Dublin: Bochsá's 'Explanations of His New Harp Effects' listed among 'new music'. See *SNL*, 25 July 1832. Advertisement for Richard Gillespie's on South Mall in Cork: Bochsá's 'New Harp Effects' listed among 'new publications'. See *SRCCC*, 29 September 1832. Irish harpists who continued to teach Bochsá's 'New Harp Effects' included Alexander de Pothonier, Charlotte Despard, Miss Kearns and Miss Jackson. See advertisements for these harpists' teaching in *SNL*, 3 April 1837 (Despard); *Armagh Guardian*, 13 May 1845 (Miss Jackson); *SNL*, 17 April 1837 (Miss Kearns); *SNL*, 30 November 1835 (de Pothonier).

409 *SNL*, 11 June 1793 and *SNL*, 2 July 1794.

410 See Appendix II.

auction at his sale room located at 37 Grafton Street; nine months later, Goulding acquired a ‘very fine pedal harp, made by Seabold, London’.⁴¹¹

Between 1800 and 1850, there was a variety of means by which a pedal harp could be procured in Ireland; through a music shop, a private seller (often a harpist), by ordering directly from a harp manufacturer or through public auction. Newspaper advertisements are evidence that the pedal harp trade was primarily concentrated in Dublin, certainly until the 1820s.⁴¹² As demand for instruments increased, sparked by a burgeoning amateur market and the influx of foreign virtuosi to Ireland, music shops responded accordingly and expeditiously by importing pedal harps for sale and hire.⁴¹³ Among the earliest stockists of pedal harps in Dublin were John Southwell on North Earl Street (1803), Rhames’ Music Shop on Exchange Street (1804) and Gough’s Music Shop on Sackville Street (1805).⁴¹⁴ In the ensuing decades, Dublin’s leading music retailers stocked a large assortment of pedal harps, including Goulding & Co, 7 Westmoreland Street (1814), Mr Logier, 27 Lower Sackville Street (1818), Isaac Willis, 7 Westmoreland Street (1823), S.J. Piggott, 13 Westmoreland Street (1832), E. McCullagh, 22 Suffolk Street (1833) and Marcus Moses, 4 Westmoreland Street (1840).⁴¹⁵ Richard Gillespie on Grand Parade and R.F. Bowden on South Mall were among the first stockists of pedal harps in Cork 1823 and 1825 respectively.⁴¹⁶ Edmond Lee was the only music shop owner in Ireland whose trade in pedal harps bestrode two centuries. Lee stocked pedal harps at his premises on Dame Street from 1790 until 1811.⁴¹⁷

A number of pedal harp teachers and performers tapped into the market demand for instruments by importing pedal harps to sell privately. As discussed in Chapter 1, French pedal harpist Madame Dupré may have been the first pedal harpist to import Érard pedal

411 Note the spelling inaccuracy here: the correct spelling is ‘Seybold’. *SNL*, 14 June 1803.

412 See Appendix II.

413 See Appendix II.

414 ‘Two very capital toned pedal harps’ in Southwells (Apollo Music Shop), 17 North Earl Street. *SNL*, 14 June 1803, ‘a fine toned and very handsome pedal harp’ in Rhames’ Music Shop, 16 Exchange Street. *SNL*, 8 May 1804, ‘two superb pedal harps’ in Gough’s Music Shop, 4 Sackville Street. *SNL*, 5 March 1805.

415 Note that the years in brackets are only one citation; for example, Isaac Willis is noted to have stocked pedal harps between 1819 and 1833. See Appendix II for examples.

416 ‘Harps pianofortes & c let out to hire’ from J. Gillespie, 88 Grand Parade, Cork. *SRCCC*, 5 April 1823. In March 1825, R.F. Bowden, Pianoforte, Music and musical instrument warehouse, 9 South Mall, Cork advertised ‘a beautiful single action harp (Makers Schweiso & Grosjean)’. *SRCCC*, 31 March 1825.

417 Although Mrs Kearns (née Miss Mountain) and her daughter Miss Kearns imported pedal harps after 1800, these were for sale privately as opposed to through an established music business. See section 2.2.1.

harps to Ireland c.1802.⁴¹⁸ Following Dupré's death in Cork in November 1803, her student Mademoiselle Champenois also facilitated the sale of 'several Sebastien Érard patent harps' from her lodgings, 4 Pitt Street, Dublin in 1804.⁴¹⁹ Irish pedal harpists with a public profile also capitalised on market demand by selling pedal harps at their residences. As noted in section 2.2.1., Mrs Kearns and her daughter Miss Kearns sporadically advertised the sale of pedal harps from various residences in Dublin until 1846. Cecelia Ashe promoted Érard harps for Marcus Moses in 1837, having performed on one at Thalberg's concert at the Rotunda. Alexander de Pothonier is noted to have advertised the sale of double-action harps by Egan and Érard in 1836 and 1838.⁴²⁰ Érard is known to have compensated harpists who generated sales on behalf of the company; for example, between 1807 and 1809, Erard's workshop ledgers reveal that a harpist was paid 12 guineas per harp sale.⁴²¹ This arrangement was a mutually beneficial one, affording harpists opportunities to supplement their income, while increasing Érard's sales.

The pedal harp trade in Ireland was bolstered by the indigenous manufacture of instruments, as discussed in Chapter 1. Between c.1802 and 1847, John Egan and his descendants were the dominant forces in pedal harp manufacture in Ireland. Pierre Érard, aware of Egan's market dominance in Ireland, tried to compete with his Irish counterpart in 1816, when he rented an apartment on Sackville Street in which he showcased his instruments; however his venture was unsuccessful.⁴²² John Egan junior continued his father's legacy until c.1841, while Egan's grandson, William Jackson, operated at 32 Dawson Street until 1847.⁴²³ A series of aristocratic endorsements, the pinnacle of which was obtaining the Royal Warrant from King George IV in 1821, ensured that Egan pedal harps were a desirable commodity among society ladies.⁴²⁴ Instigating this series of

418 Dupré was active in Ireland between 1801 and 1803. She died in Cork in 1803. See death notice in *SNL*, 29 November 1803. Note that Dupré was active for a brief period of time in Belfast in 1802 and was one of the first pedal harpists to perform in Belfast. See Johnston, 58. See also Chapter 1, Section 1.3.2.

419 *SNL*, 10 January 1804.

420 The Érard harp selected by Cecelia Ashe for her performance at Thalberg's concert was promoted by Marcus Moses. *SNL*, 30 December 1837. For examples of advertisements detailing the sale of pedal harps by Pothonier, see *SNL*, 28 November 1836 and *DEM*, 15 June 1838.

421 Nex notes that makers offered discounts for teachers if they purchased instruments on behalf of their students. Nex, 85, 113.

422 See Chapter 1.

423 Brian Boydell. 'Egan, Read and Co.' *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/134>, accessed 10 January 2020 and Brian Boydell. 'Jackson, William (ii).' *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/228>, accessed 10 January 2020.

424 Mr Bray succeeded Egan in business in 1847. *The Pilot*, 1 December 1847.

endorsement was the Duchess of Richmond, wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who commissioned Egan to manufacture a pedal harp for her in 1809.⁴²⁵

Supporting the indigenous manufacture of pedal harps was cleverly marketed by Egan as a patriotic gesture, and undoubtedly contributed to his success; however, Egan did not restrict his business by concentrating exclusively on harp manufacture. He also stocked pedal harps ‘of the best makers’ and augmented his trade by providing a multitude of services to those who owned pedal harps, including harp regulation, tuning, repair, gilding, painting and varnishing.⁴²⁶ In business terms, his unique selling point was the fact that his harps were considerably cheaper than harps imported and came with a guarantee, ranging between one and five years.⁴²⁷ In general, the Egan family controlled the marketing of their own instruments; only one music shop, namely the Royal Harmonic Saloon run by Isaac Willis on Westmoreland Street, is noted to have stocked Egan harps, beginning in 1822.⁴²⁸

It was common practice that aristocratic Anglo-Irish families owned several musical instruments, and many homes had elaborately decorated music rooms.⁴²⁹ Household auctions, usually held on account of the emigration or death of the house owner, were a popular source of pedal harp acquisition. Instruments frequently surfaced in public auctions of this nature and were usually listed among the eclectic contents of drawing rooms.⁴³⁰ Pedal harps were not just purchased for their musical value: they also had the capacity to add ornamental cachet to private residences. Instruments varied considerably in terms of their aesthetic presentation; some were ostentatiously decorated and intricately gilded, while others were plainly finished and unadorned. John Egan manufactured pedal

425 *FJ*, 14 October 1809.

426 Refer to Chapter 1. Egan also took old instruments in exchange for new ones and hired out instruments on a short- and long-term basis.

427 Note this practice was continued by other Egan family members. John Egan senior set a precedent for all subsequent branches of the family firm by stocking second-hand pedal harps. See ‘Notes’ in Appendix II.

428 Advertisement for I Willis, Royal Harmonic Saloon, 7 Westmoreland Street in *SNL*, 30 December 1822: ‘a variety of harps, single and double action, made by Erard, Dizi, Egan, & c’. Similar advertisement in *Dublin Correspondent*, 21 January 1823. Note that Egan harps appear in auctions of household furniture. For example ‘a fine pedal harp by Egan’ was listed amongst the contents of drawing room furniture in 3 Merrion Square West. Auction advertised in *SNL*, 27 February 1815; also a ‘double action pedal harp by Egan’ at a furniture auction, Elliot’s Mart, Sackville Street. *SNL*, 12 January 1820. The Royal Harmonic Saloon, a general music shop, was operational at 7 Westmoreland Street between 1821 and 1836 and was run by Isaac & Co. Willis. See Brian Boydell. ‘Willis, Isaac & Co.’ *DMT* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/518>, accessed 10 January 2020.

429 Hogan, 86.

430 See Appendix II.

harps according to consumer preference, either ‘plain or superbly finished’, and offered gilding, varnishing and painting services in order to cater for those interested in modifying or enhancing the visual appearance of their instrument.⁴³¹

Appendix II comprises advertisements for the sale of pedal harps in Ireland between c.1790 and 1900 and indicates a steady turnover of instruments in this period. Although the majority of advertisements for new pedal harps did not list a price, advertisements for second-hand instruments offer some insight into the affordability of instruments. Prices of second-hand pedal harps varied considerably, and this was presumably to do with the size, type (single or double-action), age, condition and embellishment of the instrument. The lowest price quoted for a second-hand pedal harp, a single-action instrument deemed to ‘suit a learner’, has been noted as five guineas in 1843. However, it is likely that this instrument was in poor condition as this price point was out of step with the second-hand market at the time.⁴³² Advertisements for second-hand instruments are valuable in that they sometimes listed both the original and resale price; for example, in 1833, Davis & Co. Warerooms, 32 Grafton Street listed ‘a splendid double action harp made by Erard’ for 90 guineas, stating that it had been purchased a few months previously for 120 guineas.⁴³³ The same year, Isaac Willis listed ‘a double action harp, second hand, in perfect order and excellent tone, made by Dodd, London’ for 45 guineas, having originally cost 95 guineas.⁴³⁴ John Egan, in an attempt to generate business for his pedal harps, often referred to the fact that his pedal harps were ‘half the cost of those imported or sold in London’, making it likely that his pedal harps were priced in or around 60 guineas.⁴³⁵ An advertisement for a second-hand Egan harp in the *Dublin Correspondent* in January 1823, sold by Isaac Willis, supports this hypothesis, listing the resale price of an Egan pedal harp at 32 guineas and the original price as 65 guineas.⁴³⁶

As discussed in Chapter 1, pedal harps were amongst the most expensive musical instruments to buy and, unlike the Irish harp tradition, there were no benevolent

431 *DEPost*, 2 June 1818. Note these instruments could be by any maker.

432 Private Sale, 4 Aston Quay. *SNL*, 2 January 1843. Single-action pedal harps were considered an inferior instrument at this point and had been replaced by the double-action pedal harp in professional circles.

433 *DEM*, 11 March 1833.

434 *WDWM*, 17 August 1833.

435 *SNL*, 16 January 1822.

436 *DEP*, 21 January 1823 This instrument was described as being the property of a lady leaving the country, a common reason for disposing of pedal harps.

foundations or societies that encouraged or sponsored tuition and instruments.⁴³⁷ The cost of procuring even a second-hand instrument was, at the lower end of the scale, at least 20 guineas, placing instruments out of reach of those who were not from wealthy backgrounds.⁴³⁸ In 1835, the average annual industrial wage for a farm labourer was £30 (28.5 guineas), a collier earned c.£56 (53.3 guineas), while a surgeon earned c£200 (198.47 guineas).⁴³⁹ Pedal harps, whether new or second hand, were therefore far beyond the budget of an average household. Notwithstanding the admirable attempts by John Egan to reduce prices of Irish-manufactured instruments, they remained a luxury commodity associated with high earners and the wealthy aristocracy.

Advertisements for the sale of pedal harps in Ireland illuminate the wide spectrum of harps in circulation in Ireland between 1800 and 1850, the vast majority of which were of English or Irish origin.⁴⁴⁰ The market was dominated by Egan and Érard, although their market dominance did not prevent other harp makers infiltrating the market. Pedal harps by London-based makers Erat, Dodd, Dizi, Stumpff, Schwieso & Grosjean entered the Irish market and were sold in the period 1800-1850.⁴⁴¹ Prior to 1810, all pedal harps in circulation would have been of single-action construction, although they continued to be sold up to 1850. For example, Marcus Moses kept a stock of single-action and double-action pedal harps between 1835 and 1837.⁴⁴² Both John Egan junior and William Jackson continued to manufacture and stock single action instruments in the 1830s and 1840s.⁴⁴³ Table 2.5 is a summary of the non-Irish pedal harp makers whose instruments were available in Ireland in the period 1800-1850.

437 The Irish Harp Society, for example, established in Belfast in 1808, was a charitable organisation that provided tuition to blind boys and girls in order to give them a means of earning a living by teaching the Irish harp. A similar society was inaugurated in Dublin in 1809. See Charlotte Milligan Fox, *Annals of the Irish Harpers* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1911), 55-57.

438 See Appendix II.

439 Note that in 1835, the average wage for a farm labourer was £30, while a surgeon or doctor earned c.£200. See Peter Lindert & Jeffrey Williamson. 'English Workers' Living Standards During the Industrial Revolution: A New Look.' *The Economic History Review* Volume XXXVI, February 1983 https://www.jstor.org/stable/2598895?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents, accessed 10 August 2018.

440 See Appendix II.

441 See Appendix II.

442 See, for example, *WDWM*, 2 May 1835 and *WDWM*, 22 April 1835.

443 Egan junior: *DMR*, 27 September 1831 and Egan, Read & Taylor, *SNL*, 30 May 1835. William Jackson, 16 November 1843 ('double and single action harps of his own and London manufacture').

Table 2.5 Non-Irish-made pedal harps in Ireland: 1800-1850

Harp Maker	Type of sale	Reference
Meyer, London	Auction	<i>SNL</i> , 21 October 1801
Seabold, London	Auction	<i>SNL</i> , 14 June 1803
Coisineau, France	Auction	<i>SNL</i> , 28 June 1804
Érard, London	Private sale	<i>SNL</i> , 23 January 1806
Stumpff, London	J. Willis, late Goulding & Co, 7 Westmoreland Street	<i>DEP</i> , 27 January 1816
Wood, Small & Co, London	Robert Hart, Skippers' Street, Belfast	<i>BCC</i> , 10 October 1821
Schwieso & Grosjean, London	Bowden, 9 South Mall, Cork	<i>SRCCC</i> , 31 March 1825
Dizi, London	Auction of household furniture	<i>Northern Whig</i> , 2 July 1832
Thomas Dodd, London	I Willis, 7 Westmoreland Street	<i>WDWM</i> 17 August 1833
Erat, London	Auction of household furniture	<i>DEM</i> , 25 June 1835

2.3 Concluding remarks

Between 1800 and 1850, Ireland boasted a vibrant pedal harp tradition, incorporating performance, teaching and trade. Foreign virtuosi were crucial in establishing the foundations of this tradition. These foundations were supported by a dynamic music trade, incorporating the indigenous manufacture and importation of instruments. Outside the sporadic visits of foreign virtuosi, Irish harpists cultivated an active pedal harp tradition. Concert advertisements and reviews help to trace their activities; however, it is important to acknowledge that a great deal of pedal harp performance was conducted in private, beneath the radar of the press. Although private music-making is unquantifiable, a robust culture of private pedal harp activity in Ireland is implied through advertisements for the sale of new instruments, second-hand instruments and advertisements for pedal harp tuition.

Based on the same structural premise, Chapter 3 explores the continuation of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland in the period 1850-1900.

Chapter 3. The Pedal Harp Tradition in Ireland:1850-1900

This chapter traces the pedal harp tradition in Ireland between 1850 and 1900. As is the case in Chapter 2, it is anchored around three core aspects of the tradition (practitioners, pedagogy and trade) and is supported by Appendix II (Trade) and Appendix III (concert data).

I Practitioners

3.1 Foreign pedal harpists

A steady influx of foreign pedal harpists to Ireland between 1850 and 1900 is evidence of a continued appetite for experienced performers and informed pedagogues. The most influential foreign pedal harpists to visit Ireland during this period were English harpist Gerhard Taylor (born c.1827), Bavarian harpist Charles Oberthür (1819-1895) and Welsh harpist Aptommas (1829-1913). These harpists were frequently invited to perform in Dublin by the Philharmonic Society, which had a reputation for attracting high-profile artists to Dublin.¹ Compounding the financial viability of these harpists' trips was the prospect of teaching opportunities, fuelled by a predominantly amateur community of Irish pedal harpists.

Table 3.1 outlines the foreign pedal harpists who visited Ireland between 1850 and 1900. As in Chapter 2, the ensuing discussion centres on those considered to have had a tangible impact on the pedal harp tradition in Ireland, and discusses their impact as performers, pedagogues, and composers.

¹ The Philharmonic Society was well known for its engagement of distinguished foreign artists. Examples include: vocalists Charlotte Dolby and Clara Novello, instrumentalists Guido Papini, Sigismond Thalberg, Anton Rubinstein, Clara Schumann, Charles Hallé and Arabella Goddard. See Catherine Ferris. 'Philharmonic Society, The.' *EMIR*, 831-832.

Table 3.1 Foreign pedal harpists in Ireland

Harpist	Years of activity	Places	Notes
Gerhard Taylor (born c.1827)	1851-1862	Dublin, Belfast	See 3.1.1
Charles Oberthür (1819-1895)	1854, 1857, 1858, 1860, 1861, 1870, 1876, 1877, 1892, 1895	Dublin, Limerick, Belfast	See 3.1.2
Adolf Sjödén (1843-1903)	1879	Dublin	See 3.2.3
Frederick Chatterton (1812-1894)	1839, 1860, 1867	Dublin, Cork, Wicklow, Armagh	Chatterton was younger brother of English pedal harpist J.B. Chatterton (1804-1871). He was the only foreign pedal harpist to perform in Ireland prior to and after 1850. ²
Aptommas (1829-1913)	1864, 1865, 1866, 1869, 1874, 1875, 1880, 1882, 1884, 1888, 1889, 1896	Dublin, Cork, Wicklow, Belfast, Limerick, Kerry	See 3.1.3
Priscilla Frost (1839-1907)	1882, 1884, 1885, 1889	Dublin, Belfast	See 3.1.3 and 3.3.2

3.1.1. Gerhard Taylor: born c.1827

Gerhard Taylor was the first high-profile virtuoso after Bochsa to travel to Ireland to perform and to teach. Taylor's first visit to Ireland was in 1851, four years after Bochsa's final visit in 1847.³ In February 1852, the *Freeman's Journal* suggested that Taylor's harp playing was 'the most brilliant display on the harp that we ever remember to have

² Chatterton's first performance was at Signor Huerta's concert at the Rotunda on 15 January 1839. *SNL*, 16 January 1839. He followed this with a performance for the Anacreontic Society in Dublin on 22 January 1839. *FJ*, 23 January 1839. Two more performances at the Rotunda completed his engagements in Dublin, on 31 January and 2 February 1839. *SNL*, 22 January 1839 & *SNL*, 28 January 1839. Chatterton performed at the Theatre Royal, Cork on 10 & 11 December 1860, for the Philharmonic Society in Dublin on 12 December 1860 and the following night at the Tontine Room in Armagh. See *Cork Daily Herald*, 11 December 1860, *DEP*, 13 December 1860 & *Armagh Guardian*, 14 December 1860. In 1867, Chatterton was engaged by James Gaskin for twelve performances in Dublin, Belfast and Bray in November 1867, however, Chatterton became ill after four concerts and returned to London. See *FJ*, 15 November 1867.

³ Review of the Philharmonic Society concert at which Taylor performed in *The Evening Freeman*, 20 February 1851.

enjoyed since Bochsa's time'.⁴ Like Bochsa, Taylor successfully integrated himself into the Irish art-music scene and collaborated with the leading musicians of the day, including cellist Wilhelm Elsner and violinist R.M. Levey.⁵ He was involved in concerts organised by the Philharmonic Society and the Hibernian Catch club,⁶ and performed in the Rotunda, the Antient Concert Rooms, the Music Hall on Abbey Street, the Salthill Hotel in Monkstown, and at several private residences.⁷ He also forged a valuable relationship with Marcus Moses, an established music seller, publisher and importer of musical instruments based on Westmoreland Street, Dublin.⁸ Only one reference to Taylor performing outside Dublin has been encountered. In October 1852, the *Northern Whig* reported on his limited sojourn in Belfast during which he was available to give lessons and perform at *soirées*.⁹

Given the extent to which Taylor was embedded in Dublin's art music scene, it is unfortunate that a comprehensive account of his life has been difficult to construct. Taylor's birth year of 1827 has been approximated by aligning two sources of information; a concert review in the *Cheltenham Looker-On* (1847) stating that Taylor was 'only twenty years of age', and an entry, four years later, in the 1851 UK Census stating that he was twenty-four years of age.¹⁰ Taylor's enigmatic disappearance from public life in 1862, following his final appearance at the Rotunda in Dublin, suggests that he either emigrated, eschewed a career in music, or died prematurely.

4 *FJ*, 21 Feb 1852.

5 Wilhelm Elsner was a German cellist who arrived in Dublin in 1851. He became a professor of cello at the RIAM in 1856 and died tragically at sea in 1884, when he disappeared overboard on a ship *en route* to Holyhead. See article entitled 'Feis Ceoil the biggest loss to Irish Classical Calendar' in *IT*, 25 March 2020. R.M. Levey (1811-1899) was an Irish violinist, conductor, composer and teacher. From 1834, Levey was the musical director of the Theatre Royal in Dublin until its destruction by fire in 1880. Levey was omnipresent at concerts by local and visiting musicians in Dublin for over fifty years. See Ita Beausang, 'Levey Family' in *EMIR*, 587-589.

6 The Hibernian Catch Club was one of Dublin's oldest musical societies. Extensive research on this Club and its music catalogue has been undertaken by Dr Triona O'Hanlon. See <https://www.marshlibrary.ie/dr-triona-ohanlon-talks-about-her-recent-research-on-the-hibernian-catch-club/>, accessed 20 July 2018.

7 There is only one record of Taylor performing outside Dublin. In 1852, his performances and teaching were advertised in the *Northern Whig*, 26 October 1852.

8 According to Dublin Music Trade, Marcus Moses succeeded the business of William Power and was a 'general music shop, music publisher, musical instrument seller' active in Dublin between 1831 and 1867. Marcus Moses was active at 4 Westmoreland Street between 1831 and 1860, acquired a second premises on Fleet Street between 1860 and 1861, and incorporated 5 Westmoreland Street between 1845 and 1860. See Brian Boydell. 'Moses, Marcus.' *DMT* <http://www.dublinmusictrade.ie/node/324>, accessed 17 June 2018.

9 Enquiries could be made at M.M. Coffey and Hart's, Music sellers, High Street. *Northern Whig*, 26 October 1852.

10 The 1851 UK Census can be accessed online at <https://ukcensusonline.com/census/1851/>, accessed 18 June 2018.

Taylor received his musical instruction from his father, who was an active harpist and violinist.¹¹ His earliest performances were concentrated in the Cheltenham area, where the Taylor family regularly staged concerts between 1840 and 1847.¹² Concert reviews from this period reveal that Taylor was familiar with Irish airs from a young age. In March 1840 for example, a review in *The Charter* commended his interpretation of Bochsá's arrangement of 'The Last Rose of Summer'. An excerpt from this review is as follows:

We must not omit the performance of Master Taylor on the harp: the manner in which he played Bochsá's arrangement of "The Last Rose of Summer" was one of the finest pieces of harp playing we have ever heard. In the Scherzando variation, the lightness and delicacy of his touch was most beautiful; and, in the Marcia, where a degree of exertion is required, he exhibited a firmness really extraordinary for a lad of his age.¹³

Taylor's solo début in London took place at the Queen's Concert Rooms, Hanover Square on 10 June 1847.¹⁴ The concert was organised by harp-maker Alexander Blazdell,¹⁵ who claimed that Taylor was 'the most extraordinary harpist who has ever appeared in the country.'¹⁶ Reviews of Taylor's début performance were eminently positive. The *Morning Advertiser* described his style as 'free and unaffected' and noted that he was capable of executing the 'most remarkable effects, apparently without the slightest exertion'.¹⁷ *The Sunday Times* described Taylor as 'one of the best performers on this instrument we have ever heard'.¹⁸ Following his début in London, Taylor was described as 'the first harpist

11 Gerhard Taylor's father was active as a violinist in the environs of Cheltenham in the 1840s. In advertisements for his teaching, he claimed to be the 'sole instructor' to his son. See, for example, advertisement in *Cheltenham Looker-on*: 'The harp taught on the most improved principles by Mr Taylor (of London), sole instructor of Tobias Gerhard Taylor, who is universally admitted, by all musicians, to be the "First and most extraordinary Harpist in Europe."' *Cheltenham Looker-on*, 9 January 1847.

12 Examples of Cheltenham performances: Master Taylor's Benefit Concert at the Rotunda in Cheltenham, 24 April 1841 (Advertisement in *Cheltenham Looker-On*, 17 February 1841); Taylor Family Concert at the Montpellier Rotunda, 11 February 1843 (Advertisement in *Cheltenham Looker-On*, 4 February 1843); Taylor Family Concert at the Royal Old Wells, Cheltenham on 9 March 1844 (Advertisement in *Cheltenham Journal and Gloucestershire Fashionable Weekly Gazette*, 4 March 1844.

13 *The Charter*, 4 July 1840.

14 See review of concert in *Cheltenham Looker-on*, 26 June 1847.

15 Before starting his own harp-making business, Alexander Blazdell (1811-1864) was apprenticed to harp-maker Jacob Erat (1758-1821). See Baldwin, 32-36.

16 'Mr Blazdell has the honour to announce to the nobility, gentry, his friends, and the public, that he has made arrangements with that extraordinary harpist Gerhard Taylor to give a grand recital on the harp, being his first appearance in London, when he will perform from the original pianoforte copies concertos, fantasias, capriccios, and etudes by the great masters, also his own compositions for the harp, forming a new and romantic school, never before executed by any other performer on that instrument. Mr Blazdell has the pleasure to announce that Gerhard Taylor is admitted by our first musicians to be the most extraordinary harpist that has ever appeared in this country.' *London Daily News*, 27 May 1847.

17 *Morning Advertiser*, 11 June 1847.

18 *Sunday Times*, 13 June 1847.

in Europe’ and ‘the best harpist in the world’¹⁹ and his performances captured the attention of a number of eminent musicians, one of whom was Irish composer Michael William Balfe.²⁰ In a review of Taylor’s recital at the Hanover Square Rooms in April 1848, it was noted in the *Morning Post* that:

Mr Gerhard Taylor’s performance was most masterly, and fully justified the encomiums which his talent has drawn from such artistes as Jules Benedict, Balfe, Barnett, Sir G. Smart, and last, “certainly not least”, Dr Louis Spohr.²¹

Only one of these ‘encomiums’ has been traced, that of German composer, conductor and violinist Louis Spohr.²² Spohr had an intimate connection with the pedal harp through his wife Dorette Scheidler (1787-1834) who was a prominent harp virtuoso.²³ He composed a number of solo and chamber works for pedal harp, and thus had an informed understanding of the instrument. Of Taylor’s harp playing, Spohr said:

He is an admirable master of his instrument, and handles it with a certainty, power, and delicacy only to be met with in the greatest masters.²⁴

Taylor’s visits to Ireland were sandwiched between those of Dussek, Bochsa, and Parish Alvars (pre-1851), and Oberthür and Aptommas (post-1851). At twenty-four years of age, he was relatively young for his Irish stage début.²⁵ His first performance was on 19 December 1851 at a Philharmonic Society concert in Dublin. A review in Dublin’s *Evening Packet and Correspondent* cited Taylor’s performance as the ‘instrumental novelty’ of the evening and described him as a ‘finished and brilliant harpist’ who executed complex passages with ‘singular ease and precision’.²⁶

19 These testimonials were absorbed by the Irish press. For example, ‘the best harpist in the world’ in an advertisement for Borini’s concert in the Music Hall on Lower Abbey Street, *FJ*, 8 October 1853; ‘the first harpist in Europe’ in an advertisement for his teaching and soirées, *FJ*, 4 December 1851 .

20 A reference has been found to Taylor and Balfe performing at the same concert, namely Madame Puzzi’s concert at the Queen’s Concert Rooms on 20th May 1850. A review of this concert was published in *The Era*, 26 May 1850.

21 *Morning Post*, 27 April 1848.

22 Louis Spohr (1784–1859). A German composer, conductor and violinist. According to Grove Online, Spohr is regarded by many contemporaries as worthy of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven in the pantheon of the greatest composers. Spohr’s marriage to the harpist Dorette Scheidler (1787–1834) in 1806 led him to produce a series of works for violin and harp, which they performed on their periodic concert tours. See Clive Brown. ‘Spohr, Louis.’ *Grove Music Online* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000026446>, accessed 1 August 2018.

23 Dorette Spohr, née Scheidler, 1787–1834. Dorette played on a single-action harp. She found that she could not adapt to Érard’s double-action instrument, even though she was dissatisfied by the limitations of her own instrument. See Rensch. *The Harp: Its History, Technique and Repertoire*, 119-23.

24 *Morning Post*, 27 April 1848.

25 Ages of foreign virtuosos for their first Irish performances: Bochsa was 32 years old in 1821, Oberthür was 35 in 1854, Aptommas was 35 in 1864, Frederick Chatterton was 27 years old in 1839.

26 *DEP*, 20 Dec 1851.

Between 1851 and 1862, Taylor visited Ireland eleven times. He once stayed for nine consecutive months – the longest period that any foreign pedal harpist spent in Ireland in the nineteenth century.²⁷ By 1861, Taylor was so familiar to Irish audiences that the *Dublin Daily Express* thought it appropriate to refer to him as ‘our own harpist’.²⁸ Protracted visits to Ireland allowed him to blend into the cultural fabric of Dublin and forge important connections with Irish musicians, audiences and harp students. Taylor’s performances in Dublin brought him into contact with Irish musicians who were not only active performers, but also influential pedagogues. For example, Joseph and Fanny Robinson, who Taylor encountered on his first visit to Ireland in 1851, were entrenched in Dublin’s art music scene.²⁹ Joseph was involved in the establishment of the Royal Irish Academy of Music, while Fanny, a renowned pianist, was credited with introducing the ‘solo recital’ to Ireland.³⁰ Taylor also collaborated with Alban Croft,³¹ Julia Cruise,³² Gustavus Geary,³³ Mr Bussell³⁴ and the aforementioned Herr Elsner and R.M. Levey.³⁵ All of these musicians were crucial in maintaining and cultivating a strong art-music tradition in Dublin in the 1850s and 1860s.

It was commonplace for foreign harpists who visited Ireland in the nineteenth century to align themselves with a particular element of Dublin’s music trade, be it a publisher, music seller or instrument maker. Bochsa, for example, established an important relationship with harp-maker John Egan, and Egan reaped the benefits of this relationship

27 Bochsa’s longest visit, for example, was three months in 1836, and his five visits to Ireland were spread over a twenty-six year period. Oberthür tended to stay in Ireland for weeks, rather than months, at a time, and his nine visits to Ireland were spread over a forty-two year period.

28 *DDE*, 28 June 1861.

29 Both Taylor and the Robinsons performed at the Philharmonic Society’s concert on 19 December 1851. *The Evening Freeman*, 20 December 1851.

30 Fanny Robinson gave the first solo piano recital in Ireland in 1856. See *SNL*, 10 April 1856. Robinson became the first female professor of the piano at the Royal Irish Academy of Music in 1856. See O’Connor, 54.

31 Alban Croft, an organist and vocalist, and his wife, a vocalist, were active on the Irish music scene in the period when Taylor visited Ireland. Taylor performed at Croft’s ‘Musical Evening at the Rotunda’ on 20 February 1852. See *SNL*, 21 February 1852.

32 Julia Cruise was a well-known singer who was assistant to Joseph Robinson at the Royal Irish Academy of Music. She married R.M. Levey. See O’Connor, 58. Cruise and Taylor both performed at the Philharmonic Society concert at the ACR, 20 January 1859. *DEM*, 21 January 1859. Oberthür composed a song for Cruise entitled ‘Dost thou look at even’, which she performed at Ellen Williams’ concert at the ACR on 29 January 1861. See *DEP*, 31 January 1861.

33 Gustavus Geary (1826-1877) founded the Dublin Madrigal Society in 1846. He promoted concerts of national music in Dublin. In 1859, Mr Geary gave a vocal recital at the ACR prior to his departure for America in April 1860. See Boydell, ‘Geary, Gustavus’ *EMIR*, i, 424. Taylor performed at Geary’s ‘National Concert’ on 22 April 1852. See *FJ*, 23 April 1852.

34 Bussell conducted Taylor’s first concert in Ireland in 1851. *The Evening Freeman*, 20 December 1851.

35 For example, both Elsner and Levey performed with Taylor at Miss Flynn’s ‘Matinée Musicale’ at her residence on Harcourt Street on 1 May 1858. See *SNL*, 3 May 1858.

when Bochsá promoted his pedal harps in 1821. Taylor's link to the Irish public was Marcus Moses, whose music business was centrally located on Westmoreland Street in Dublin between 1831 and 1867.³⁶ Moses took queries in relation to Taylor's professional activities in Ireland and published some of his pedal harp arrangements.³⁷ Although not a harp-maker, Moses imported and sold Érard pedal harps. In 1853, Taylor promoted these harps at the Great Industrial Exhibition, an exercise that saw him perform for Queen Victoria.³⁸

Teaching appears to have been an integral part of Taylor's professional activity in Ireland. In 1857, he dedicated a catalogue of his arrangements of Irish melodies for the pedal harp, 'Twenty-Four Favourite Irish Melodies' to his 'pupils in Ireland'.³⁹ Taylor came to Ireland at a time when it was increasingly difficult to source quality pedal harp tuition, and it is likely that this compounded demand for his teaching. In the 1850s, Irish pedal harpists like Mary Jane Glover (later Mary Jane Mackey) and her sister Emilie were emerging artists whose teaching did not have an impact until later decades. Irish pedal harpists who had been directly influenced by Bochsá, including Miss Kearns, Alexander de Pothonier and the Ashe sisters, had stopped performing and teaching by the 1850s, leaving those interested in learning the pedal harp with more limited options in regard to pedagogy.

It is likely that the majority of Taylor's harp students were private students, and although this stifles quantification of his influence as a harp teacher, it is certainly reasonable to assume that his lengthy trips to Ireland were fuelled by a steady demand for his teaching. One thing that is somewhat confounding regarding Taylor's pedagogical activity in Ireland is the fact that he was not enlisted to teach at the Royal Irish Academy of Music, established just three years before he first visited Ireland in 1851. The temporal parameters of his visits to Ireland (1851-1862), the fact that he was so well integrated into the musical life of Dublin, and the fact that he performed alongside several musicians

36 Marcus Moses succeeded the business of William Power and was a 'general music shop, music publisher, musical instrument seller' active in Dublin between 1831 and 1867. Marcus Moses was active at 4 Westmoreland Street between 1831 and 1860, acquired a second premises on Fleet Street between 1860 and 1861, and incorporated 5 Westmoreland Street between 1845 and 1860. See Brian Boydell. 'Moses, Marcus.' *DMT* <http://www.dublinmusictrade.ie/node/324>, accessed 17 June 2018.

37 See Chapter 5.

38 'The magnificent Gothic Harp sent by Erard to the Dublin Exhibition, was lately purchased by Robert J. Stavelly Esq. of Croydon Park, for his daughter, the wife of Capt. Plomer J. Young. The eminent harpist, Mr Gerhard Taylor, performed on this fine instrument for her Majesty when in Dublin.' *Limerick Chronicle*, 1 February 1854.

39 Advertised under 'new harp music' in *Irish Industrial Journal*, 4 April 1857.

who taught at the Academy, suggest that Taylor would have been ideally positioned to teach at the Academy. However, the Academy's first 'Professor of Harp' was Mary Jane Mackey in 1871, almost ten years after Taylor's final visit to Ireland. There is evidence that Taylor did teach in at least two private educational institutions in Ireland, although there is no record of the numbers of students he taught. In both of these institutions, he taught alongside musicians who also held teaching posts in the Royal Irish Academy of Music, proving that there was no restriction on holding multiple teaching posts.⁴⁰ In February 1858 he was listed as harp teacher at Madame Morosini's 'École de la Musique', located at 1 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin. In 1862, Taylor appears to have replaced Oberthür as harp teacher at the Educational Institute for Ladies, 24 Lower Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin.⁴¹

Taylor's Irish publications include a catalogue of Irish airs arranged for the harp entitled 'Twenty-Four Favourite Irish Melodies', and two duets for harp and piano, namely 'Il Trovatore' and 'Grand War March'. These works stand out as some of the only Irish-published music for pedal harp from the nineteenth century and will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

3.1.2 Charles Oberthür: 1819-1895

Born in München in 1819, Charles Oberthür was one of the leading pedal harpists of the nineteenth century. In his early career he gained recognition primarily as a court harpist, with appointments including harpist at the Zürich Theatre, harpist-in-residence for the Duke and Duchess of Nassau at Wiesbaden, and harpist at the Palatine Court Theatre in Mannheim.⁴² Like many leading exponents of the pedal harp, Oberthür was based in London for a prolonged period of time (1848-1895), and this facilitated an enduring relationship with Ireland. He first performed in Dublin in 1854, and over the course of forty years was a central figure in the propagation of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland through the mediums of teaching, performance and composition.

40 Elsner is listed as teaching 'violincello accompaniment' at the Educational Institute for Ladies in March 1862. See *DDE*, 4 March 1862. Both Levey and Elsner are listed as teachers at Madame Morosini's in February 1858. See *SNL*, 4 February 1858.

41 This institution was short lived. The Misses Leishman who were English relocated to Bayswater, London as evidenced by advertisements from 1862 onwards. See, for example, *DDE*, 18 September 1862.

42 Alice Lawson Aber-Count. 'Oberthür: Consummate Harp Virtuoso, Composer, Teacher.' *American Harp Journal* 11.1 Summer, 1987 (28-29).

Like his predecessors and contemporaries, Oberthür capitalised on the fact that Ireland was an accessible and popular destination for foreign virtuosi, particularly those based in London. Oberthür's residence in London also afforded him the opportunity of interacting and collaborating with a number of musicians who had connections to Ireland. Ignaz Moscheles, for example, the celebrated pianist who had toured Ireland in 1826, is said to have mentored Oberthür in his early years in London.⁴³ Oberthür is also noted as having performed with Irish pedal harpist Boleyne Reeves as a result of their mutual involvement in the 'Harp Union' in 1853.⁴⁴ Furthermore, he was a regular collaborator of Italian concertina and guitar virtuoso Giulio Regondi⁴⁵ who performed in Ireland on several occasions between 1834 and 1861.⁴⁶

Oberthür's practice of routinely dedicating compositions to 'peers and pupils as well as to persons of note'⁴⁷ is helpful in chronicling and indeed corroborating his movements throughout Europe.⁴⁸ His dedication of 'Meditation, a musical sketch for the harp, op. 153', to Irish pedal harpist Louisa Cane was the initial impetus upon which his relationship with Ireland was probed. An original manuscript of this work, contained in the Royal Irish Academy of Music, bears the following handwritten inscription: 'This M.S. to Miss Louisa Cane with the author's kindest regards & in remembrance of his visit to Irland [*sic*]1858'.⁴⁹

Nineteenth-century newspaper archives corroborate Oberthür's visit to Ireland in 1858,⁵⁰ On 14 January he was engaged by the Philharmonic Society to perform at a concert featuring the renowned Italian soprano Giulia Grisi.⁵¹ Two weeks later, he gave a

43 'A difference with V. Lachner, and the representations of English friends, induced Herr Oberthür in October, 1844, to come to England, where he found a firm protector in Moscheles'. *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, 15 June 1895 See also Govea, 216.

44 See Chapter 4.

45 Thomas F. Heck, 'Regondi, Giulio.' *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023085>, accessed 10 May 2017.

46 Lawrence, T. 'Giulio Regondi in Ireland' <http://www.ucd.ie/pages/99/articles/lawrence.pdf>, accessed 27 October 2018.

47 Aber-Count, 28-29.

48 For example, during his time in Belgium, Oberthür dedicated 'Lorely', op. 180, for orchestra and harp obligato, to the prince regent Leopold, from whom he received a knighthood. When in Wiesbaden, he dedicated *Trois Mélodies*, op. 122, for the harp, to the harpist de S.A.T. la duchesse de Nassau, Miss Marianne Collison.

49 See Chapter 5.

50 Oberthür performed at a Philharmonic Society Concert on 14 January 1858. See *DEM*, 15 January 1858 and at a Hibernian Catch Club event on 9 February 1858. See *WDWM*, 13 February 1858.

51 The concert was supposed to be on 11 January but Grisi hadn't arrived. Oberthür performed one of harp parts of Weber's 'Rondo a la Valse', orchestrated by Berlioz, with a distinguished amateur'. See *DEM*, 15 January 1858.

‘Morning Harp Recital’ at the same venue, with the assistance of instrumentalists R.M. Levey, Miss Flynn and Herr Elsner, and a number of popular vocalists.⁵² On 9 February he returned to the Antient Concert Rooms to perform at a meeting of the Hibernian Catch Club.⁵³ Oberthür’s visit to Ireland in 1858 had in fact been his third; Irish audiences were first introduced to him in June 1854. His debut performance was at the Antient Concert Rooms at the Philharmonic Society’s ‘last grand concert of the season’.⁵⁴ At this concert, he performed a ‘Fantasie on the Last Rose of Summer’, and two original compositions, ‘Au bord de la mer’ and ‘La Cascade’.⁵⁵ A review of this performance in *Saunders’ Newsletter* reported that Oberthür showed ‘ability, judgement and grace of execution’ in his interpretation of ‘The Last Rose of Summer’, and praised the fact that he ‘avoided cadenzas out of character’, while still playing the variations in a ‘sparkling and telling manner’.⁵⁶

Oberthür’s first performance in Ireland marked the genesis of his relationship with the Philharmonic Society in Dublin, run by musician and conductor Henry Bussell.⁵⁷ Oberthür had a longstanding partnership with the Philharmonic Society that ended only when the society dissolved in the late 1870s. There are records of him performing at Philharmonic Society events in 1854, 1857, 1858, 1860, 1870, 1876 and 1877; curiously he had no affiliation with the Society during his visit to Ireland in 1861.⁵⁸ The Philharmonic Society was renowned, and often criticised, for the fact that it engaged and promoted foreign talent as opposed to indigenous talent, and that its concerts were reserved for members and associates of the Society, as opposed to the general concert-

52 Vocalists included Messrs Richard Smith, Yoakley, Dobbin, O’Rorke. See *SNL*, 30 January 1858.

53 The Hibernian Catch Club was established in c.1680 was founded by the vicars choral of St Patrick’s and Christ Church cathedrals ‘as a Brotherhood for the cultivation and knowledge of the best Glees, Catches, Madrigals, &c.’ See Triona O’Hanlon. ‘The Hibernian Catch Club: Catch and Glee Culture in Georgian and Victorian Dublin.’ *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland* 13, (2017–18): 17-21.

54 *SNL*, 13 June 1854.

55 *FJ*, 15 June 1854.

56 ‘He is not as showy and does not resort to the same tours de force to attract as some we have heard, but his touch is brilliant and telling.’ *SNL*, 15 June 1854. Note that this cadenza comment could have been in reference to Bochsá, who was occasionally reproached for over-embellishing Irish melodies to the detriment of their melodic essence.

57 Henry Bussell (1809-1882) was a musical instrument maker, conductor and pianist. He founded the Philharmonic Society in Dublin in 1826 and also served as its secretary. In c.1836, he opened a music business in partnership with members of the Robinson family at 7 Westmoreland Street, succeeding Isaac Willis & Co. which had previously operated at the premises since 1817. See Barra Boydell. ‘Bussell, Henry’ in *EMIR*, 141-142.

58 In 1861, queries in relation to Oberthür could be directed to Piggot’s music shop at 112 Grafton Street. See, for example, *Evening News (Dublin)*, 9 February 1861.

going public.⁵⁹ The reality was that visiting virtuosi of Oberthür's ilk generated publicity and attracted large audiences, more so than local artists. Although criticisms of the Society were somewhat justified, a counter argument is that Henry Bussell, in his resolve to showcase high quality performances and new repertoire, ensured that Irish audiences were attuned to contemporary art music. The Philharmonic Society provided a vital platform for the airing of Oberthür's latest compositions, many of which filtered into the hands of professional and amateur harpists alike and were a valuable addition to the repertory.⁶⁰

The fact that so many of Oberthür's recitals in Ireland between 1854 and 1877 were held at the Antient Concert Rooms, the home of the Philharmonic Society, suggests that his relationship with the Society was somewhat exclusive. This is supported by the fact that in 1870, Oberthür performed with cellist Herr Elsner at Molesworth Hall 'by kind permission of the Philharmonic Society'.⁶¹ Exclusivity contracts between performers and the Philharmonic Society were common practice, although they did not always mean that the general public was precluded from hearing artists like Oberthür outside the confines of the Antient Concert Rooms. The Dublin public did have a number of opportunities of hearing Oberthür; for example, he was engaged in 1860 to perform at Herr Elsner's concert at the Antient Concert Rooms, and in 1861 to perform at Ellen Williams' concert.⁶² Both of these concerts were public events, with tickets available at music shops or at the musicians' respective residences.

During his many trips to Ireland, Oberthür performed in a wide variety of Dublin venues outside of the Antient Concert Rooms: The Exhibition Palace (1870), Cramer's Concert Room on Westmoreland Street (1877), Molesworth Hall (1870), and the residence of the

59 See Catherine Ferris. 'Philharmonic Society.' *EMIR*, 831-832.

60 See Chapter 5.

61 *IT*, 3 June 1870. Catherine Ferris describes an exclusivity clause between a visiting performer and the Philharmonic Society that precluded the performer from participating in other public performances while engaged by the Society. A performer was sometimes granted permission to break this clause. See Catherine Ferris. 'The Management of Nineteenth-Century Dublin Music Societies in the Public and Private Spheres: The Philharmonic Society and the Dublin Musical Society' in Paul Rodmell, ed. *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Ashgate, 2012), 17-19.

62 Herr Elsner's concert at the ACR on 23 January 1860. *FJ*, 18 January 1860. Ellen Williams' concert at the ACR on 29 January 1861. *DEP*, 31 January 1861.

Leishmann sisters on Fitzwilliam Square in Dublin (1861).⁶³ Outside of Dublin, he performed at the Theatre Royal in Limerick in a joint concert with Herr Elsner in 1861.⁶⁴ He returned to Limerick in May 1892 to perform at organist Stanislaus Elliot's concerts, held over two consecutive nights. An advertisement for these concerts in the *Weekly Irish Times* indicates that Oberthür's performances in Limerick with Elliot marked the inauguration of a tour 'through the South of Ireland'.⁶⁵ Although there is no corroborating evidence of concerts in the south of the country, Oberthür is noted to have performed in Dublin later that year (October) in the Antient Concert Rooms, and this correlates with the *Weekly Irish Times*' report that Oberthür's tour would culminate in Dublin.⁶⁶ Oberthür appears to have performed only once in Belfast, in 1877, at Madame Titiens' concert hosted by the Belfast Philharmonic Society.⁶⁷

Through his many affiliations in Dublin, it is no surprise that Oberthür encountered and indeed collaborated with many of Ireland's leading musicians including Robert Prescott Stewart, Joseph Robinson, George Alexander Osborne, Catherine Hayes, Wilhelm Elsner and R.M. Levey.⁶⁸ Collectively, these musicians were integral to the musical life of Dublin between 1850 and 1900, as performers, conductors, composers, and educators. Oberthür forged a relationship with Prescott Stewart, for whom he had profound admiration and respect.⁶⁹ In 1894, a few weeks after Prescott Stewart's death, Oberthür

63 The Philharmonic Society concert at the Exhibition Palace on 3 June 1870. See advertisement in *DEP*, 30 May 1870; Oberthür's 'Matinée Musicale' at Cramer's Concert Room, Westmoreland Street on 3 February 1877. See advertisement in *DWN*, 27 January 1877; Herr Elsner's concert at Molesworth Hall on 4 June 1870. See review in *SNL*, 6 June 1870; Oberthür's 'Morning Harp Recital at the Educational Institute for Ladies, 24 Fitzwilliam Square on 9 February 1861. See advertisement in *SNL*, 7 February 1861.

64 *Limerick Chronicle*, 30 January 1861.

65 *Weekly Irish Times*, 30 April 1892. It is likely that 'the south of Ireland' extended from Limerick to Cork.

66 Oberthür's final concert in Dublin may have been on 22 October 1892 at the Antient Concert Rooms with Pauline and Alex Elsner. *Weekly Irish Times*, 30 April 1892.

67 *Northern Whig*, 5 January 1877. Madame Therese Titiens (Tietjens) was a German soprano whose career was defined chiefly by her years in London in the 1860s and 1870s. See Elizabeth Forbes, 'Tietjens [Titiens], Therese.' *Grove Music Online* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027950>, accessed 19 October 2018.

68 For example, the second grand concert of the Philharmonic Society, which took place on 14 January 1857, featured, in addition to Oberthür, Irish soprano Catherine Hayes and Irish pianist and composer George A. Osborne. See advertisement in *SNL*, 10 January 1857. Oberthür's harp recital at the Educational Institute for Ladies in February 1861 featured Stewart, Joseph Robinson, Levey and Elsner. See advertisement outlining programme in *Evening News (Dublin)*, 7 February 1861.

69 Robert Prescott-Stewart (1825-1894) was an Irish organist, conductor, composer and teacher, and one of the most influential Irish musicians of the nineteenth century. See Lisa Parker. 'Robert Prescott-Stewart (1825-1894): A Victorian Musician in Dublin.' (PhD diss., National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2009) http://mural.maynoothuniversity.ie/1479/1/Parker_PhD_Thesis_April_2009_NUIM.pdf, accessed 10 April 2018.

recounted his memories of the organist in a letter to the *Irish Times*. In this letter, Oberthür described Prescott Stewart as ‘a dear and valuable friend’ and ‘one of the greatest organ players’ he had ever heard.⁷⁰

Teaching was an integral part of Oberthür’s professional career. In his early years in London, he was employed as harpist at the Italian theatre, however it is said that he resigned in order to concentrate on teaching, composing and occasionally touring Europe.⁷¹ In 1861, Oberthür was appointed first Professor of Harp at the newly opened London Academy of Music.⁷² Like the majority of foreign pedal harpists who visited Ireland, Oberthür supplemented his income by teaching. His handwritten inscription on ‘Meditation’ is evidence that he was teacher to Louisa Cane in 1858. Henry Bussell was the usual agent for Oberthür in Ireland, just as Marcus Moses was for Gerhard Taylor, and John Egan was for Bochsa. Those interested in availing themselves of his tuition were directed to contact Bussell at his music shop on Westmoreland Street.⁷³ It is likely that Oberthür taught from whatever residence he occupied during his time in Ireland. In 1857, he stayed at 15 D’Olier Street in Dublin,⁷⁴ while in 1861 he stayed at the Gresham Hotel on Sackville Street⁷⁵ prior to moving to 27 Holles Street.⁷⁶ In 1861, he was also listed as harp teacher at the Educational Institute for Ladies run by the Leishmann sisters in Fitzwilliam Square in Dublin.⁷⁷ Leishmanns’ Educational Institute was short-lived in Ireland, and advertisements show that the school was relocated to Bayswater, London in

70 *IT*, 14 April 1894.

71 Rensch, Roslyn. *The Harp. Its History, Technique and Repertoire*, 114–115 and Alice Lawson Abercount, ‘Oberthür: Consummate Harp Virtuoso, Composer, Teacher.’ *American Harp Journal* 11.1 Summer, 1987 (28-29).

72 This does not appear to have been the same institution as the Royal Academy of Music in London (RAM). Bochsa was appointed as the first pedal harp teacher at the RAM in 1822 and was succeeded by his student J.B. Chatterton. Oberthür appears to have been still employed at the London Academy of Music in 1877, as he was described as ‘first professor of the harp at the London Academy of Music’ in *DWN*, 27 January 1877.

73 Enquiries in relation to his teaching could be made to Bussell on Westmoreland Street. See, for example, advertisement for ‘Morning Harp Recital’ in *DDE*, 26 January 1858; advertisement for ‘Morning Harp Recital’ in the *FJ*, 11 February 1860; advertisement for ‘Second Grand Concert’ of the Philharmonic Society in *DDE*, 20 February 1878. Note that the only year this appears to have changed was in 1861, when enquiries could be directed to Piggott at 112 Grafton Street. See, for example, advertisement for Oberthür’s ‘Morning Harp Recital’ at the ACR. *DDE*, 6 February 1861.

74 *DEM*, 5 January 1857.

75 *SNL*, 5 January 1861.

76 *SNL*, 8 January 1861.

77 See advertisements for this institution in, for example, 26 August 1861, *DDE*, 14 August 1861, *DEM*, 21 December 1861. In the *DDE* in September 1862, the Misses Leishmann were described as ‘formerly of Blackrock and Fitzwilliam-Street’. See *DDE*, 30 December 1861.

1862.⁷⁸ Gerhard Taylor assumed Oberthür's position at the Educational Institute for a short period in 1862.⁷⁹

As a teacher, Oberthür appears to have had a lasting impact on his students. A testament to this is the fact that, in 1897, three of his former students, Louisa Cane, Edith Davis and Lottie Coates, fundraised for a composition prize in his honour to be included in the inaugural Feis Ceoil.⁸⁰ The 'Oberthür prize' was not awarded in 1898, and its first and only recipient was Italian composer Michel Esposito (1855-1929) in 1899. Esposito received the prize for a work entitled 'Poem', which was scored for string band, woodwinds, French horn and pedal harp. The competition was adjudicated by the eminent Irish composer Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924).⁸¹ Unfortunately this work does not appear to have been published and has not been encountered in any collections studied as part of this research.

Oberthür's greatest legacy is his vast catalogue of compositions, totalling over 450 individual works, many of which are original pieces for pedal harp.⁸² His interpretations of Irish airs are among the most charming and unique in the repertory. Data collated on concert repertoire between 1850 and 1900 (Appendix III) reveal that his repertoire was regularly performed by Irish pedal harpists. As early as 1856, Irish pedal harpists were including works by Oberthür in concert programmes, reflecting a departure from what had become a standardised repertoire.⁸³ In March 1856, for example, Mary Jane Glover (later Mrs Mackey) performed Oberthür's 'Fantasia on Irish airs' as part of her father Professor Glover's lecture on 'National Melodies'.⁸⁴ A number of references to Mary

78 Advertisements indicate that Oberthür was harp teacher at this institution between August and September 1861. See, for example, advertisement in *DEM*, 4 September 1861. It is possible that he taught at the institution earlier in the year – he is noted to have given a 'Morning Harp Recital' at the address on 9 February 1861. See advertisement for this concert in *SNL*, 7 February 1861. Taylor was listed in advertisements between February and March 1862. See, for example, advertisement in *DDE*, 6 March 1862.

79 Taylor listed as harp teacher in advertisement for the institution. *DDE*, 25 February 1862. In 1892, an article in the *Irish Times*, anticipating Oberthür's imminent visit to Dublin, refers to his 'numerously attended' harp class in Dublin during the period that he was a regular visitor to Ireland. This may have been in reference to his short tenure at the Educational Institute for Ladies. *IT*, 29 March 1892.

80 The Feis Ceoil is Ireland's largest classical musical festival. It was inaugurated in 1897 under the stewardship of Dr. Annie Patterson.

81 *Dublin Daily Nation*, 28 January 1899. 'Dr Stanford, in his letter communicating the awards, says 'The string quartette is very good, and the best thing sent in. The Oberthür prize has resulted in a very poetic little piece'.

82 Oberthür's catalogue encompasses original works and arrangements for solo harp, duets for harp and piano, chamber works featuring harp, a concertino for harp and orchestra, as well as two operas and a number of vocal works.

83 See Chapter 5 and Appendix III.

84 *Commercial Journal*, 15 March 1856.

Jane Glover performing works by Oberthür have been noted in the 1870s and 1880s, including ‘Martha’, ‘Souvenir de Schwalbach’ (duet with violin) and Oberthür’s arrangement of ‘Home Sweet Home’.⁸⁵ Owen Lloyd, the Irish pedal harpist taught by Aptommas and Adolf Sjödén, performed ‘A Bohemian National Air’ arranged by Oberthür at the Irish Harp Revival Festival in the Rotunda in May 1879.⁸⁶ He also performed two works by Oberthür, namely ‘Erin go Bragh’ (duet for harp and piano) and ‘La Priere’ (duet for harp and violin) at his ‘Grand Matinée Musicale’ in April 1886.⁸⁷ Sjoden himself performed Oberthür’s ‘Grand Trio for Harp, Violin and Violoncello’ at the same event with Herr Lauer and Herr Elsner playing violin and cello parts respectively.⁸⁸

Harp students of the Loreto convents occasionally performed Oberthür’s works in school recitals in Dublin and Cork.⁸⁹ For example, at a concert that marked the termination of examination of students at Loreto Convent in Fermoy, Co. Cork in August 1865, two Oberthür duets for harp and piano, entitled ‘L’echo del Opera’, were performed.⁹⁰ Josephine Sullivan, a Loreto student who went on to become Professor of Harp at the Royal Irish Academy of Music, performed ‘Murmuring Waters’ by Oberthür at Leinster Hall in February 1892.⁹¹ In April 1893, Sullivan performed a ‘Romance’ by Oberthür (Opus 175) at a student concert at Loreto Abbey. At the same concert, a ‘Fantasia on Irish airs for four harps’ by Oberthür was played by Loreto students.⁹² It is possible that Oberthür became acquainted with Loreto nun Mother Attracta Coffey during his many trips to Ireland in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1895, Oberthür wrote to the committee of the Feis Ceoil⁹³ giving permission for his ‘Quartet for four harps on Irish Airs’ to be performed, having recently been ‘received with gratification at Rathfarnham

85 See Appendix III.

86 Programme for two concerts (8 and 10 May) printed in *DDE*, 8 May 1879.

87 This recital took place at 18 Harcourt Street. *FJ*, 12 April 1886.

88 *DDE*, 6 May 1879.

89 *Cork Examiner*, 5 August 1865 & *FJ*, 7 April 1893.

90 *Cork Examiner*, 5 August 1865.

91 *FJ*, 22 February 1892.

92 *FJ*, 7 April 1893.

93 Members of committee included Annie Patterson, Count Plunkett, Edith Oldham and harpist Owen Lloyd. See account of Irish Musical Feis meeting in *FJ*, 26 October 1895.

Abbey'.⁹⁴ This suggests that Oberthür had composed the quartet with the Loreto students in mind.

Oberthür remained active as a performer in the 1890s, despite his ailing years, and is noted as having performed in Coblenz, Frankfurt, Mannheim and Strasbourg in the winter of 1894.⁹⁵ Indications are that he intended to travel to Ireland in July 1895, a few months before his death; however, it has not been possible to establish if his intention was realised. The *Belfast Newsletter*, for example, reported the following on 17 June 1895:

The celebrated harpist and composer, Herr Oberthür, will be with us next week, but as yet there is no announcement of his intention to give the public a taste of his quality.⁹⁶

There is a possibility that Oberthür visited Ireland in 1895, but did not perform publicly. He developed firm friendships in Dublin which would have strengthened his Irish connection. It is interesting to note that he continued to communicate with the Elsner family following the death of cellist Herr Elsner in 1884, with whom he had performed on a number of occasions in Dublin. Oberthür was engaged by Elsner's daughters, Pauline and Alex, to perform at their annual concert at the Antient Concert Rooms in October 1892.⁹⁷

In Ireland, Oberthür's musical imprint was far reaching, both during his lifetime and after his death. His public recitals ensured that Irish audiences were introduced to contemporary pedal harp repertoire and exposed to the highest standard in pedal harp performance. Through harpists like Oberthür, Irish pedal harpists had access to tuition from the most eminent masters of the instrument in Europe. His legacy as a composer is manifested in the popularity of his repertoire in amateur and professional circles. Oberthür visited Ireland on four occasions during the 1850s, the decade when English harpist Gerhard Taylor was at the height of his popularity in Ireland. There is no evidence that Taylor and Oberthür encountered one another in Ireland, although at least three of their visits coincided.⁹⁸ However, concert programmes and reviews provide evidence that

94 'A letter was read from Mr Chas Oberthür, the renowned harpist, stating that he had composed a quartet for four harps on Irish airs, which had been received with much gratification at Rathfarnham Abbey, and offering it for performance at the Feis. Great satisfaction was expressed at the offer, and it was decided to write to Mr Oberthür thanking him for his suggestion.' *FJ*, 26 October 1895. Note that 'Rathfarnham Abbey' was a school for girls and the headquarters of the Loreto institution of nuns in Ireland.

95 *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, 15 June 1895.

96 *Belfast Newsletter*, 17 June 1895.

97 Herr Elsner's body was washed ashore on the Isle of Man on 10 August 1884. He had been crossing from the North Wall to Holyhead en route to Germany. His death was unexplained. *CC*, 12 August 1884.

98 Both Taylor and Oberthür were in Ireland in February 1857, February 1858 and February 1860.

they moved in the same artistic circles, sharing concerts with a number of the same Irish musicians. In January 1857 for example, Herr Elsner and Mr Levey, who are known to have occasionally performed with Taylor, assisted at Oberthür's recital at the Antient Concert Rooms.⁹⁹ In 1858, Oberthür performed duets with the Irish pianist Miss Flynn at the Antient Concert Rooms.¹⁰⁰ One of Taylor's last performances in Ireland was at Flynn's residence in April 1862.¹⁰¹

3.1.3. *Aptommas (1829-1913)*

Thomas Thomas (hereafter referred to as 'Aptommas') was born in Bridgend in South Wales in 1829. Although widely celebrated as a pedal harpist in his lifetime, his legacy in contemporary literature has largely been overshadowed by that of his older brother, the eminent harpist-composer John Thomas (1826-1913).¹⁰² Earning the sobriquet 'the King of Harpists', and habitually referred to as 'the Paganini of the harp', Aptommas was a skilled and ambitious performer in his own right with a unique performance stamina.¹⁰³ In the press he was compared to Swiss pianist Sigismund Thalberg (1812-1871) for his ability to sustain the interest of an audience, unassisted, for two hours.¹⁰⁴

Aptommas visited Ireland twelve times between 1864 and 1896. Through performance and pedagogy, he established himself as a leading figure in the development of the pedal harp tradition between 1850 and 1900.¹⁰⁵ That a harpist of his calibre visited Ireland so frequently was as a reflection of the appetite experienced performers and pedagogues, particularly in the period prior to increased accessibility to pedal harp tuition through the Royal Irish Academy of Music (RIAM) and religious schools. In Ireland, Aptommas' harp recitals garnered critical acclaim, both for the miscellany of repertoire showcased

99 *Dublin Daily Express*, 1 Feb 1858.

100 *SNL*, 1 Feb 1858.

101 *SNL*, 14 April 1862.

102 John Thomas (1826-1913) composed, arranged and published a vast amount of music for the pedal harp, and many of his compositions were based on traditional Welsh airs. Thomas studied pedal harp with J.B. Chatterton and adjusted his orientation from the traditional Welsh technique of resting the harp on the left shoulder and playing the treble with his left hand to the standard European orientation of right shoulder and right hand playing treble. He succeeded Chatterton as harpist to Queen Victoria and professor at the Royal Academy of Music in London. See Govea, 279.

103 For references to the 'King of Harpists', see, for example, *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 10 November 1891; *Herts Guardian*, 24 November 1883. For references to 'the Paganini of the harp', see, for example, *Leicester Journal*, 30 October 1868; *Northern Whig*, 15 May 1869.

104 'M Aptommas, like Thalberg, disdains all assistance from other musical artists or other instruments than the one which he wields with such unrivalled power and effect.' *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 23 January 1869.

105 It is interesting to observe that he visited Ireland four times between 1864 and 1869 when two of his closest contemporaries, Oberthür and Taylor, are not known to have been active in Ireland.

and the high standard of playing. There is no evidence that he aligned himself with any particular music society, nor does he appear to have been closely affiliated with any element of Ireland's music trade. Although noted to have performed for the Philharmonic Society in Dublin on a number of occasions, he does not appear to have been bound by any exclusivity clause in terms of his availability to perform elsewhere.¹⁰⁶ In reality, this probably afforded him greater artistic autonomy and an opportunity to develop the style of 'harp recital' for which he became renowned.¹⁰⁷ Aptommas was the only foreign pedal harpist to visit Ireland who regularly staged solo recitals without the assistance of ancillary musicians; it was on the foundation of his extensive repertoire that these ambitious recitals, reported to have lasted up to two hours, were viable. Concert programmes reveal that he often divided his recitals into three, even four, parts, in each of which was a distinctive style of repertoire. These categories of repertoire included transcriptions of piano or harpsichord repertoire, original compositions for the pedal harp and arrangements of national airs. Table 3.2 outlines one of Aptommas' sample programmes, and is taken from a review in the *Irish Times* of Aptommas' first concert at the Rotunda in February 1864.

106 On 14 March 1864, Aptommas and Arthur O'Leary were instrumentalists at Philharmonic Society concert at ACR. *DEM*, 7 March 1864.

107 'Aptommas' Harp Recitals' were regularly advertised as such in the press. Aptommas' contemporaries, including Oberthür and Taylor, did not proliferate such a trademark, and frequently performed in recitals organised by other musicians. See, for example, *IT*, 19 March 1888, *DDE*, 25 January 1865, *DDE*, 13 May 1869, *Dover Telegraph*, 27 September 1862, *Dundee Advertiser*, 7 March 1883.

Table 3.2 Concert programme: Aptommas’ Harp Recital at the Rotunda, 8 February 1864

	Work	Composer
Part 1. Transcriptions	Moonlight Sonata	Beethoven
	Song without words (No. 6, Book 5)	Mendelssohn
	The Harmonious Blacksmith	Handel
Part 2. Repertoire composed for the pedal harp	Grand Operatic Fantasia on themes from ‘Montecchi’ and ‘Semiramide’	Parish Alvars
	Mandoline Studio	Parish Alvars
	Tarantelle	Aptommas
Part 3. National Airs	A selection of Irish, Welsh and Scotch national airs	Aptommas (arr.)

It was Aptommas’ solo harp recitals, drawing from a wide spectrum of harp repertoire, that set him apart from his harpist contemporaries.¹⁰⁸ Unlike Bochsa and Oberthür, who were both prolific composers, he was not motivated by a desire to constantly air or promote his own compositions and arrangements, and it is clear from concert programmes that he was happy to perform the works of other harpists. In doing so, he ensured that Irish audiences were exposed to a wide variety of pedal harp repertoire by attending a singular performance. Accounts of Aptommas’ recitals also suggest that he was mindful of audience preference in terms of the selection of repertoire he performed; for example, at no less than two recitals given at the Antient Concert Hall in 1866, Aptommas invited the audience to choose the programme from a prescribed list of works.¹⁰⁹

108 Although he is known to have arranged various melodies for the pedal harp, unlike his brother John, there is little evidence that he composed much in the line of original repertoire for the pedal harp. In the British Library, there are eight works attributed to Aptommas, including one arrangement of a ‘polka’, an arrangement of Welsh melodies, a Welsh fantasia, ‘Songs from the Emerald Isle’ (which he is noted to have performed in Ireland), two tarantellas (one for harp and piano and one for harp), a book of ‘elaborate exercises’ for the harp, and ‘Classical and Miscellaneous Selections from the Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Spohr, Weber, Mendelssohn, Beethoven & c, for the harp, No. 7. Concert programmes printed in the *Irish Times* in 1882 (3 recitals with Priscilla Frost at the ACR) include a “Valse de Concert” by Aptommas which was possibly an original work. See, for example, *IT*, 8 March 1882.

109 *SNL*, 24 February 1866.

In Ireland, it was not unusual for Aptommas to give two recitals in one day, nor was it unusual for him to travel significant distances between concert venues. By performing outside some of Ireland’s main provincial towns, he introduced the pedal harp to a more diverse audience. In 1865, for example, in addition to performing in Cork city, Aptommas is noted to have performed in Queenstown (now Cobh), Fermoy and Killarney, thereby extending the geographical map of pedal harp activity in the South of Ireland.¹¹⁰ Table 3.3, summarising Aptommas’ Irish concert activity in 1869, not only illuminates the geographical latitude of Aptommas’ recitals, but also illustrates the performance stamina for which he became renowned. In less than three weeks, he performed in Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick and Bray, and, in each instance, gave both an afternoon and evening recital.

Table 3. 3 Aptommas’ concert activity in Ireland in 1869

Date	Venue	Recital details
12 May 1869	Antient Concert Rooms, Dublin	Two recitals: 3pm & 8.15pm
18 May 1869	Ulster Minor Hall, Belfast	Morning and evening recital
21 May 1869	Ulster Minor Hall, Belfast	Morning and evening recital
26 May 1869	Imperial Hotel, Cork	Two recitals: 3pm & 8.15pm
27 May 1869	Athenaeum, Limerick	Morning and evening recital
1 June 1869	Assembly Rooms, Bray	Two recitals: 3pm & 8pm

Throughout his career, Aptommas persisted with the traditional Welsh technique in which he had been schooled. Traditional Welsh harpists adopted the same practice as ancient (pre-1800) Irish harpers, in that they rested the harp on their left shoulder, played the treble notes with his left hand and the bass notes with his right hand. This was precisely the opposite to what had become the accepted convention among pedal harpists, which was resting the harp on the right shoulder, playing the treble notes with the right hand and the bass notes with the left. According to Alfred Kastner, in order to accommodate Aptommas’ convention, Érard constructed pedal harps with the mechanism reversed; this

¹¹⁰ It is likely that he arrived via boat to Queenstown (now Cobh). Details of concerts in *Cork Examiner*, 25 August 1865.

was a testament to the esteem in which he was held by the celebrated harp-making family.¹¹¹ That Aptommas performed in an unconventional manner attracted attention and in some cases won him plaudits. For example, following his first performance at the Antient Concert Rooms in February 1864, a review in the *Dublin Daily Express* cited the positive effect of Aptommas' technique on the quality of sound:

The Continental system has been, as everyone knows, to play the harp in the same manner in which the pianoforte is handled – viz, the right hand for treble and the left hand for bass. Mr Aptommas is the only harpist of modern date who conforms to the ancient custom – he uses his left hand for the upper strings, and, whether from this cause or from some slight modification of the stringing of his instrument, the basses seemed, to our apprehension, more decided in their timbre than in the case of any other performer we can recollect.¹¹²

The attention ascribed to Aptommas' recitals in the Irish press facilitates the mapping of his concert activity in Ireland; however, mapping and quantifying his pedagogical activity is more difficult, given the likelihood that the majority of his students were probably amateurs with no public profile. Two of Ireland's foremost pedal harpists of the period, Owen Lloyd and Emilie Glover (see sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3) were taught by Aptommas, and this is certainly significant from the point of view of assessing his influence on the Irish pedal harp tradition. In Aptommas' absence, both Lloyd and Glover were important exponents of the pedal harp tradition, and presumably utilised his teaching methods. Lloyd is known to have adopted Aptommas' unconventional orientation (left hand playing treble and right hand playing bass); however, it has not been possible to determine if Glover also followed this custom.

In newspaper articles and concert reviews printed in the Irish press, Aptommas, like his pedal harpist contemporaries, was mistakenly associated with the 'national' instrument. For example, during his first visit to Ireland in 1864, the *Waterford Mirror* described Aptommas as 'the greatest living performer on the National Instrument of Ireland'.¹¹³ A few weeks later, a review of Aptommas' performance at Trinity College in the *Irish Times* complimented Aptommas' interpretation of Irish melodies which, it stated, 'fully illustrated the extraordinary fertility of his inventive genius in connexion with our

111 Kastner, Alfred. 'The Harp.' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 35 (1908): 1-14, 8. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/765669>, accessed 10 July 2019.

112 *DDE*, 6 Feb 1864.

113 *Waterford Mirror*, 20 January 1864.

national instrument'.¹¹⁴ In 1865, a review of Aptommas' recital at the Ulster Hall in the *Northern Whig* commended Aptommas for drawing attention to 'our own national, but too much neglected instrument'.¹¹⁵ The perception that the pedal harp on which Aptommas performed was a part of a lineage of indigenous Irish instruments was proliferated until the late 1890s, when Aptommas performed his final concerts in Ireland. For example, following what appears to have been his final performance in Ireland at Molesworth Hall in April 1896, an article in the *Dublin Daily Express* noted:

We have often expressed surprise that the National instrument is so much neglected by Erin's daughters. If anything is calculated to remedy this, a series of performances such as that heard at the Molesworth Hall on Friday assuredly should.¹¹⁶

The reference to 'Erin's daughters' is interesting here as it suggests that the female-harpist stereotype continued to be proliferated in Ireland throughout the nineteenth century.¹¹⁷ Although there is no evidence to suggest that Aptommas performed regularly on anything other than a pedal harp, it should be added that on one occasion, at his farewell concert at the Antient Concert Rooms in April 1864, he performed on a replica of a fifteenth-century Irish instrument (the Brian Boru harp); however, this was somewhat of a token gesture, and was only a minor component of a recital that was otherwise conducted on pedal harp.¹¹⁸

In the 1880s, Aptommas is performed in Ireland with his student, later his wife, Priscilla Frost. Frost was an accomplished harpist and pianist from Manchester and was the second person to be appointed as Professor of Harp at the Royal Irish Academy of Music in 1889.¹¹⁹ Aptommas and Frost gave three recitals at the Antient Concert Rooms in 1882 and two in 1889; these recitals featured harp solos, piano solos, duets for two harps and duets for harp and piano.¹²⁰ Although Madame Frost did not return to Ireland after 1889,

114 *IT*, 2 Feb 1864.

115 Programme included 'La Mandolino' by Parish Alvars – a piece composed for double-action pedal harp. *Northern Whig*, 19 May 1869.

116 *DDE*, 20 April 1896.

117 Between 1850 and 1900, the female-harpist stereotype was proliferated by the RIAM and Loreto schools. See Section II: Pedagogy.

118 'Between the parts Mr Aptommas will play on the model harp of King Brian Boruimhe (now in Trinity College), kindly lent him for the occasion by the Rev. J.H. Todd. D.D.' *SNL*, 28 March 1864.

119 Notice of appointment to RIAM in *IT*, 10 April 1889.

120 Reference to 3 recitals in *FJ*, 18 March 1882. At the first of these concerts, Aptommas and Frost performed a fantasia on Mozart's 'O dolce concerto' by Parish Alvars for harp and piano, a duet for two harps on Aptommas' own 'Tarantelle' and a duet for two harps founded on Welsh melodies. The duo also performed together in 1889 at two grand harp concerts at the Antient Concert Hall on 30 and 31 May 1889. These concerts featured the first Irish performance of Mozart's concerto for flute and harp, performed by Madame Frost and flautist Mr MacNeil. See full programme printed in *IT*, 30 May 1889.

Aptommas visited once more in 1896, and performed publicly on at least two occasions in Dublin, at the Antient Concert Rooms and Molesworth Hall. Reviews of these ‘Harp Recitals’ in the Irish press are evidence that Aptommas continued to perform a diverse programme of repertoire, including arrangements of Irish melodies. On 27 March, for example, Aptommas performed ‘The Last Rose of Summer’, ‘St Patrick’s Day’ and ‘Believe Me, if All Those Endearing Young Charms’ to a crowded assemblage at the Antient Concert Hall.¹²¹ His final performance in Ireland was in Molesworth Hall in Dublin in April 1896.¹²²

Where Aptommas features in the hierarchical importance of foreign pedal harpists who visited Ireland in the period 1850-1900 is impossible to assess retrospectively. Like Taylor, Oberthür, and indeed Frederick Chatterton, who performed in Ireland on several occasions in the 1860s, he was described in the Irish press in laudatory terms. In 1865, for example, Aptommas was described in the *Evening Freeman*, as ‘the greatest harpist in the world.’¹²³ Whether or not this was true, it was an encomium that followed him in the ensuing decades.¹²⁴ It is no surprise that, in Ireland, Aptommas was compared to both Gerhard Taylor and Charles Oberthür in the press; after all, as was pointed out in an article in the *Dublin Daily Express* in 1864: ‘we in Dublin are used to hearing harp *virtuosi* of celebrity’.¹²⁵ Following his first solo engagement at the Rotunda, in February 1864, the *Dublin Evening Mail* suggested that Aptommas was ‘equal to Oberthür and Gerard Taylor in dextrous manipulation’ but that he surpassed them in ‘tenderness, power and expression’.¹²⁶ Following his performance at the Assembly Rooms in Bray in June 1869, Aptommas was again compared to Taylor in *Saunders’ Newsletter*.¹²⁷ It is interesting to note the lasting impact of Taylor’s performance at Dublin’s Exhibition sixteen years previously in 1853, and in some ways, this encapsulates the degree to which the Irish pedal harp tradition was reliant on foreign intervention.

121 *FJ*, 28 March 1896.

122 Evening harp recital at Molesworth Hall on 17 April 1896; advertised in *IT*, 16 April 1896, reviewed in *DDE* on 20 April 1896.

123 *The Evening Freeman*, 28 January 1865.

124 See, for example, *Derby Mercury*, 18 March 1868, *Buxton Herald*, 25 September 1873, *Batley News (Yorkshire)*, 21 October 1899, *Lake’s Falmouth Packet and Cornwall Advertiser*, 1 March 1902.

125 *DDE*, 6 Feb 1864.

126 *DEM*, 9 Feb 1864.

127 ‘Which among the thousands that witnessed Dublin’s Exhibition of 1853 can fail to remember the performances of Gerhard Taylor? A joint successor to rival him exists in Mr Aptommas’. *SNL*, 2 June 1869.

Which among the thousands that witnessed Dublin’s Exhibition of 1853 can fail to remember the performance of Gerhard Taylor? A just successor to rival him exists in Mr Aptommas. Welsh in extraction, the ancient train of talent was observable in his execution at the concert given here today in the Assembly Rooms.¹²⁸

3.2 Irish pedal harpists

In the absence of foreign virtuosi, the sustainability and endurance of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland was reliant on the tenacity of Irish performers and pedagogues and the accessibility of pedal harp tuition. Evidence points to a robust amateur pedal harp tradition in Ireland between 1850 and 1900, however assessing the impact of the amateur tradition is stymied by a lack of data in relation to private music making. Amateur harpists were the bedrock of the pedal harp tradition in terms of fuelling demand for teaching and printed music, yet their identities were largely anonymous.¹²⁹ Outside the amateur scene, only a small cohort of Irish pedal harpists gained public approbation. Table 3.4 outlines the Irish pedal harpists who were active publicly between 1850 and 1900. The ensuing discussion focuses on three of these Irish harpists, deemed to have been at the forefront of the pedal harp tradition: Mary Jane Glover, her sister Emilie, and Owen Lloyd.

Table 3.4 Irish pedal harpists in Ireland: 1850-1900

Harpist	Years of activity	Notes
Mary Jane Glover (1839-1883)	1855-1883	See 3.2.1
Emilie Glover (c.1848-1917)	c.1865-1896	See 3.2.2
Owen Lloyd (c.1852-1929)	c.1872-1924 ¹³⁰	See 3.2.3
Josephine Sullivan (1874-1960)	c.1889-1923 ¹³¹	Harp teacher at the RIAM between 1889-1903. See 3.3.1, 3.3.2 and Chapter 5

128 *SNL*, 2 June 1869.

129 A prime example is Louisa Cane, who does not appear to have performed publicly on the pedal harp.

130 Listed as an adjudicator for an Irish language opera in *FJ*, 21 June 1924.

131 Miss Sullivan is noted as having performed at a wedding in Leicester Place in London on 8 November 1923. *Belfast Newsletter*, 12 November 1923.

3.2.1 Mary Jane Glover: 1839–1883

The Glover sisters were steered into the music profession at an early age by their father, eminent musician Professor John William Glover. Professor Glover was a central tenet in Ireland's art music scene between 1830 and 1899; he was a multi-instrumentalist, a conductor, composer, arranger and pedagogue, and he officiated as organist at the Pro-cathedral on Marlborough Street for thirty-eight years.¹³² Glover was passionate about Irish music and lectured widely on the subject throughout Ireland and further afield.¹³³ He introduced his children incrementally to the public stage by enlisting them to perform as vocalists and instrumentalists at his lecture-recitals. Mary Jane Glover first performed publicly as a harpist at the Market House in Dundalk in 1855, where her father was delivering a lecture on 'The Art of Singing'. Emilie Glover, who was nine years younger than Mary Jane, performed publicly for the first time in the Commercial Buildings, also in Dundalk, ten years later, in 1865.¹³⁴

Mary Jane was the second eldest of seven Glover children, next to Ferdinand who was a promising baritone.¹³⁵ Early records of her performances show that she had a varied repertoire that included works by Bochsá, Oberthür and Parish Alvars.¹³⁶ In addition to standard European pedal harp repertoire, she regularly performed arrangements of Irish melodies.¹³⁷ In March 1857, Mary Jane performed independently of her father for the first time at the Antient Concert Rooms for the Dublin Madrigal Society.¹³⁸ A review in *Saunders' Newsletter* described her performance of 'La Danse des Fées' as the 'leading feature of interest' of the programme, while the *Freeman's Journal* reported that she was prevented from giving an encore only by the 'sudden breaking of a string'.¹³⁹ In 1858, following successful performances at the Antient Concert Rooms and the Royal Irish

132 In 1851, Professor Glover established the Royal Choral Institute in an attempt to repudiate the pretentiousness of private music societies, and to make choral singing accessible to the working class public. In 1859 his collective of Thomas Moore's 'Irish Melodies' was published by James Duffy in Dublin.

133 John William Glover (1815-1899) was a composer, organist, violinist and teacher. He succeeded Haydn Corri as organist of the Pro-cathedral in Dublin in 1848. He was involved in organising the musical commemorations of Danile O'Connell, Thomas Moore and Henry Grattan and lectured widely on Irish music in Dublin, London and Paris. See Paul Collins. 'Glover, John William.' *EMIR*, 435.

134 See Appendix III.

135 Professor Glover's grandson, James Mackey, who was known professionally as 'Jimmy Glover', gives an account of his musical family in his memoir entitled 'Jimmy Glover: His Book', published in 1911.

136 See Appendix III.

137 See Appendix III.

138 Concert on 9 March 1857, advertised on 7 March 1857 in *The Commercial Journal*.

139 *FJ*, 10 March 1857.

Institution, the *Dublin Daily Express* predicted that Glover would ‘eventually take a high position as a harpist’. This prophecy was fulfilled, albeit not immediately, as Mary Jane was largely absent from the public stage between 1858 and 1869. When she resumed her performance career in 1869, she firmly established herself as a leading advocate of the pedal harp in Ireland until her death in 1883.

Glover is said to have played the harp himself, although there are few references to him doing so. In 1867, the *Carlow Post* reported that he was ‘unequaled in performing on any instrument – whether harp, piano, harmonium, organ or violin’.¹⁴⁰ In a review of Mary Jane’s performance for the Dublin Madrigal Society in May 1858, Professor Glover was credited with teaching his daughter the harp. An excerpt from this review, published in the *Dublin Evening Packet and Correspondent*, typifies the response to Mary Jane’s harp playing at this time.

This lady is the daughter of Professor Glover, under whose careful tuition she has acquired the fullest mastery over the beautiful instrument she played. She was most warmly encored, and her familiarity with the harp was still further evinced in the correct style in which she performed her next piece. It was different from the first, and was likewise applauded. It is too much the habit to ‘make-up’ debutantes in a few selections, that they may secure the ear of the audience, while they are but superficially educated in their profession, but this, we feel positive, is not the case with Miss Glover, who really has the finish we expect to find with all properly instructed harpists.¹⁴¹

Whether Mary Jane was a ‘properly-instructed’ harpist solely as a result of her father’s tuition is open to conjecture, and highlights the pitfalls, from a research point of view, of the anonymity of private teaching. It is possible that she was influenced by one or more of the professional harp virtuosos who travelled to Ireland during the 1850s. Charles Oberthür and Gerhard Taylor are both known to have taught in Dublin during this decade;¹⁴² however, a link between Mary Jane to either of these harpists has yet to be established.¹⁴³

Mary Jane’s hiatus from public performance in the 1860s is at odds with the fact that her early performances on the harp (between 1855 and 1858) garnered significant attention in the press; however, it appears that her absence from the concert stage was connected to personal circumstances rather than her reputation as a harpist. In July 1860, Mary Jane

140 *Carlow Post*, 7 September 1867.

141 *DEP*, 6 May 1858.

142 Oberthür’s handwritten inscription to his pupil Louisa Cane is dated 1858. This corroborates the fact that he was an active teacher at this time in Ireland. See Chapter 5.

143 These harpists were connected to a network of Irish musicians, some of whom were colleagues of Professor Glover, including violinist R.M. Levey and cellist Wilhelm Elsner.

was married to James Mackey at St. Andrew's Church, Westland Row, Dublin.¹⁴⁴ The couple had three children: James (1861), Michael (1862) and Mary (1867).¹⁴⁵ James Senior was a 'commercial traveller', meaning he was periodically away from the family home in Kingstown, with the result that Mary Jane's maternal duties took precedence over her music career. Much to her chagrin, her husband was also involved in the Fenian movement, and this led to his incarceration in Mountjoy Prison in 1865.¹⁴⁶ A consequence of James' incarceration was that he was declared bankrupt, leaving the Mackey family penniless. Mary Jane (now known as Mrs Mackey) gradually resumed performing in public in 1869, presumably out of necessity to provide for her family.¹⁴⁷

In 1871, Mrs Mackey was appointed first Professor of Harp at the Royal Irish Academy of Music, over twenty years after the institution was established in 1848.¹⁴⁸ The Academy was progressive in its approach to female employees, having employed Fanny Robinson as its first female teacher after the reorganisation of the institution in 1856.¹⁴⁹ Advertisements for Mrs Mackey's harp classes show that they took place twice a week, morning and evening, at 36 Westland Row, and that students without a harp could avail of practice facilities at the institution.¹⁵⁰ Offering practice facilities may have been an attempt by the Academy to open up accessibility to pedal harp lessons, an art form that was traditionally associated with females from wealthy or privileged backgrounds.

Mrs Mackey taught at the Royal Irish Academy for at least two years, although there are no data in relation to the number of students she instructed. In 1876, she was described in the *Northern Whig* as 'Professor of the Harp at the Royal Dublin Academy', which suggests that she was still involved at the institution at this point; however, records at the Royal Irish Academy of Music do not seem to corroborate this.¹⁵¹ Annual reports of the Royal Irish Academy of Music indicate that harp classes were directed at ladies, however

144 Marriage notice in *Northern Whig*, 26 July 1860. Mr Mackey is described as 'of Templemore and Kingstown' while Mary Anne Glover is described as 'daughter of Professor Glover, Westmoreland Street.'

145 The births of Mrs Mackey's children were announced in the local press. See, for example, *The Weekly Freeman*, 22 June 1861 'June 18, at 14 Talbot Street, in this city, the wife of Mr James Mackey, Kingstown, of a son.'

146 Mrs Mackey's son James (Jimmy) gives a detailed account of this period in his memoir, published in 1912. See Jimmy Glover. *His Book* (London: Methuen, 1912), 41-46.

147 On 10 January 1869, Mrs Mackey presided at the organ (while Miss Emilie Glover played harp) at a performance of the sacred music of the 'High Mass' at the 'Cathedral Church' by Mademoiselle Titiens and other members of the Italian opera company, conducted by Professor Glover. *FJ*, 11 January 1869.

148 Notice of Mrs Mackey's appointment in *SNL*, 2 November 1871.

149 O' Connor, 54.

150 *SNL*, 2 November 1871.

151 Annual reports of the RIAM activities are available for consultation in the RIAM library.

an advertisement in the *Freeman's Journal* in September 1872 appears to contradict this, stating that harp classes were for 'ladies and gentlemen'.¹⁵² Whatever the gender balance of Mrs Mackey's classes at the Academy, the reality was that the pedal harp was predominantly associated with women between 1850 and 1900. In the 1880s and 1890s, as will be discussed later, the predominance of female harpists was linked to the fact that harp tuition became centred in convent schools. A notable exception in this regard was Owen Lloyd who came to the fore as a pedal harpist in Ireland in the late 1870s.

Mrs Mackey performed extensively in Dublin and throughout Ireland in the 1870s. She was, on occasion, engaged by visiting opera companies, and this led to unique performance opportunities, including collaborations with renowned sopranos Thérèse Titiens and Ilma di Murska.¹⁵³ In 1877 she was commended by the *Weekly Irish Times* for her unwavering musicality when an opera singer lost her place during a production of 'The Bohemian Girl' at the Gaeity Theatre. The writer observed:

Mrs Mackey was the harpist during last week's opera performances and played in her usual excellent style. I noticed when a vocalist dropped half a bar Mrs Mackey picked up her music with perfect accuracy. This might not have been much to the lady, but it was a great thing for the singer.¹⁵⁴

Mrs Mackey's career was centred in Ireland, however she is noted as having performed in London, Manchester and Leeds.¹⁵⁵ In April 1876, for example, she left Ireland for three weeks to fulfil an operatic engagement with Signor Campobello, of the Italian Opera Company, in London.¹⁵⁶ Reports suggest that she was preparing to perform in the United States before she died; the *Dublin Daily Express* noted that 'just before her early and lamented death she was preparing to cross the Atlantic to give to the western world another illustration of Irish musical talent',¹⁵⁷ while the *Freeman's Journal* noted she

152 *FJ*, 23 September 1872.

153 In September 1870, Mrs Mackey presided at the organ for an oratorio concert at St. Michael's Church in Kingstown at which members of the Italian opera company featured, including sopranos Thérèse Tietjens (1831-1837) and Mademoiselle Ilma di Murska (1834-1889). At this event, Mrs Mackey also accompanied di Murska on the harp for a rendition of Schubert's Ave Maria. *The Evening Freeman*, 26 September 1870.

154 *Weekly Irish Times*, 24 March 1877.

155 'Mrs Mackey (harpist) has left to perform at the Irish Concert at Leeds on this evening. *IT*, 3 April 1876 In an obituary published in the *DDE* following her death, it was noted that Mrs Mackey had performed in London. *DDE*, 8 June 1883.

156 'Mrs Mackey has left for England, having been engaged as harpist by Signor Campobello.' *IT*, 26 April 1876.

157 *DDE*, 8 June 1883.

would ‘soon have elicited the admiration of our American friends at the Boston Exhibition’.¹⁵⁸

Despite clear indications that the vast majority of Mrs Mackey’s performances were on pedal harp, she was often inaccurately associated with the ‘national instrument’.¹⁵⁹ In 1876, for example, a review of Professor Glover’s concert at the Exhibition Palace described Mrs Mackey as ‘an accomplished mistress of the national instrument’.¹⁶⁰ This reflected a misconception that the pedal harp, albeit frequently employed in the transmission of Irish airs, was a modern manifestation of an ancient Irish instrument. The diversity of Mrs Mackey’s repertoire (see Appendix III) is clarification that she performed on a pedal harp. For example, in November 1879, she performed John Thomas’ ‘Watching the Wheat’, at a charitable concert at the Antient Concert Rooms. This work is in G flat major and requires enharmonic tuning, meaning it requires the key-changing capacity of the double-action instrument.

On the rare occasion that Mrs Mackey, or indeed any other pedal harpist in Ireland, performed on an ancient Irish instrument in the period c1860-1890, this was explicitly stated. Earlier it was noted that Welsh harpist Aptommas borrowed a wire-strung harp (a ‘model harp of King Brian Boroimhe’) to play Irish airs at his farewell concert at the Antient Concert Rooms in April 1864.¹⁶¹ Mrs Mackey is known to have demonstrated on a wire-strung harp, also a replica of the Trinity College harp, at lectures given by Dr Robert Prescott Stewart on ‘Irish Music and Musicians’ in both 1873 and 1878.¹⁶² One review in the *Irish Times* outlined the distinction Dr Stewart made between the harps of Érard ‘with their beautiful mechanism and splendid tone’ and the ‘peculiar melancholy tones’ of the wire-strung instrument demonstrated upon by Mrs Mackey.¹⁶³ This review suggests that, among those educated in such matters, including Professor Glover and his daughter, the distinction between the pedal harp and the national Irish instrument was recognised, and the misrepresentation of the pedal harp as an Irish instrument was a fallacy proliferated by the Irish press.

158 *FJ*, 8 June 1883.

159 See Appendix III which provides evidence that Mrs Mackey performed the works of Parish Alvars and Oberthür, specifically written for the pedal harp.

160 *FJ*, 16 March 1876.

161 *The Evening Freeman*, 4 April 1864.

162 Note that these lectures were also entitled ‘The Balfé Memorial’ lectures, and proceeds were to be donated to a Balfé commemoration. See *Dublin Evening Mail*, 23 May 1878.

163 *IT*, 30 May 1878.

Over the course of her career, Mrs Mackey collaborated with many of her contemporary Irish musicians, including Herr Elsner, Signor Esposito, Signor Cellini, R.M. Levey, Alban Croft, Mr Oldham, Julia Cruise, Dr Power O Donoghue and Robert Prescott Stewart.¹⁶⁴ She performed extensively in many of Dublin's leading concert venues; the Rotunda, Leinster Hall, the Exhibition Palace, the Antient Concert Rooms, the Theatre Royal, the Gaiety Theatre and Trinity College. Outside Dublin, Mrs Mackey is noted as having performed in some provincial Irish towns, including Bray, Belfast, Derry, Dundalk, Drogheda, Wexford and Cork.¹⁶⁵ Her busy performing schedule saw her collaborate with a number of private and public musical societies that were at the heart of Dublin's music matrix, including the Philharmonic Society, the Dublin Madrigal Society, the Dublin Musical Society, and University of Dublin Choral Society.¹⁶⁶

Like her father, Mrs Mackey was a versatile instrumentalist, and was renowned for her abilities as a harpist, pianist and organist. As a pedagogue, her greatest accomplishment was the initiation of harp tuition at the RIAM. During her career she held two organ posts in Dublin; one at St. Michael's in Kingstown (now Dun Laoghaire) and one at the Passionist Church at Mount Argus, Harold's Cross.¹⁶⁷ Following her death, Mrs Mackey's children continued her musical legacy. Her son James, professionally referred to as 'Jimmy Glover', enjoyed a successful and varied career as a musician in London, and became director of Theatre Royal, Drury Lane in 1897.¹⁶⁸ Her daughter and namesake Mary, also adopted 'Glover' as her professional surname, and enjoyed success as a pedal harpist in both Ireland and England.¹⁶⁹ In 1894, the *Dublin Evening Herald* reported that Miss Glover, 'daughter of Mrs Mackey, a famous harpist' was offered 'professorship of Harp at the Royal Academy' in her early career. It is unclear whether this was the Dublin or London institution.¹⁷⁰

164 See Appendix III.

165 See Appendix III.

166 See Appendix III.

167 Mrs Mackey's son Jimmy wrote a memoir in which he describes his musical upbringing, including the influence of his mother, who was organist and 'musical directress' at St. Michael's in Kingstown, and at Mount Argus church. See Glover, 20-23.

168 Jimmy Glover (1861-1931) was director of the Drury Lane Theatre in London between 1897 and 1920 and enjoyed a number of lucrative contracts at the Covent Garden Royal Italian Opera and as a composer of theatre, ballet and light opera. See Nicholas Allen. 'Glover, James Mackey ('Jimmy')' in *The Dictionary of Irish Biography* <https://doi.org/10.3318/dib.003496.v1>, accessed 17 October 2017.

169 At the Irish Artisans' Exhibition in 1885, Miss Mackey performed 'Watching the Wheat' by John Thomas. *DDE*, 19 Sept 1885, confirming that she too was a pedal harpist.

170 *The Evening Herald*, 6 December 1894.

Tributes to Mrs Mackey following her death on 7 June 1883 illuminate the esteem in which she was held as a musician in Ireland. In the *Irish Times*, she was panegyricised as ‘one of the greatest harpists of modern Ireland’, elaborating that:

those whose privilege it was to hear her interpret our beautiful Irish melodies, in which she excelled so much, will not easily forget the pleasing impression left on them by the performance.¹⁷¹

An obituary in the *Dublin Daily Express* credited her in equal terms and stated:

We regret to announce the death of this gifted lady, daughter of Professor Glover, of this city. Mrs Mackey’s brilliant performances on the harp, both here and in London, have long proved her to be an accomplished artist in developing the powers of that beautiful instrument, and just before her early and lamented death she was preparing to cross the Atlantic to give to the western world another illustration of Irish musical talent. The public will sincerely sympathise with Professor Glover and Mrs Mackey’s family. Her last public performance in Dublin was at the concert for Steevens’ Hospital.¹⁷²

A final testament to Mrs Mackey’s legacy is the fact that, in August 1883, she was the subject of a sculpture by the celebrated Prussian artist, Herr Lauer. A reference to this sculpture in the *Musical World* described Mrs Mackey as ‘the eminent Irish harpist’. The article also noted that this work of art would be ‘reduplicated in miniature size, thereby placing it within the reach of all’.¹⁷³ It is not known if this sculpture was ever created.

3.2.2 Emilie Glover: c.1848–1917

Emilie Glover followed in the footsteps of her sister Mary Jane in pursuing a career as a harpist. She too was afforded a public platform through participation in her father’s lecture recitals and concerts. At one of her earliest public appearances in 1865, Emilie was said to have ‘elicited loud cheering, and deservedly so’ for her ‘uncommon ability’ on the harp.¹⁷⁴ Later that year, following a performance at Professor Glover’s concert in Sussex Hall, Kingstown, *The Era* described Emilie as a ‘petite specimen of a harpist’ who gave evidence of ‘great culture and brilliant execution on the harp’.¹⁷⁵

It is not known where Emilie received her initial harp instruction. On the basis that Professor Glover is noted as having taught Emilie’s elder sister Mary Jane, it is fair to

171 *IT*, 8 June 1883.

172 *DDE*, 8 June 1883.

173 *IT*, 20 August 1883 (article reprinted from *The Musical World*).

174 Professor Glover’s Entertainment in the great hall of the Commercial Buildings, 17 April 1865. ‘The performance of Miss Glover on the harp elicited loud cheering, and deservedly so, as the young lady displayed uncommon ability in executing ‘St. Patrick’s Day’, ‘Believe me if all those endearing young charms’, and some other Irish airs.’ *Dundalk Democrat*, 22 April 1865. Note this could not have been Mary Jane as she used the surname Mackey from 1860 onwards.

175 *The Era*, 19 November 1865.

hypothesise that she received some form of harp instruction at home, perhaps even from Mary Jane.¹⁷⁶ She is known to have been a student of Welsh virtuoso Aptommas who visited Ireland on at least three occasions in the 1860s.¹⁷⁷ Appendix III reveals that she paid tribute to her teacher on a number of occasions by performing his compositions in public. For example, she performed Aptommas' 'Sounds of the Emerald Isle' at a Grand Concert of National Music at the Exhibition Palace in June 1868 and later that year at the Rotunda.¹⁷⁸ While it is known that Owen Lloyd, also a student of Aptommas, adopted the traditional Welsh convention of placing the pedal harp on the left shoulder, playing the melody with the left hand and bass with the right hand, it has not been possible to determine Emilie Glover's practice in this regard.¹⁷⁹

Emilie's first solo recital took place at her residence, 14 Talbot Street, Dublin on 14 March 1868.¹⁸⁰ *Saunders' Newsletter* reported that the recital had been 'anticipated with much interest' following her recent performance at the Italian Opera concert at the Exhibition Building.¹⁸¹ Three more recitals at Talbot Street followed in the ensuing weeks. An account of one of these recitals in the *Freeman's Journal* reported that 'the attendance was most numerous and fashionable' and that Emilie 'displayed instrumental capacities of a high order'.¹⁸² A testament to the popularity and success of Emilie's debut harp recitals at Talbot Street in 1868 is the fact that they were repeated the following year. The *Freeman's Journal* submitted the following observation following the second of these recitals in February 1869:

Amongst all the musical entertainments with which this city abounds we have one which claims not only special notice, but from all classes of society a hearty recognition. We allude to Miss Emilie Glover's harp recital at 14 Talbot Street this day. The harp, our national instrument, so long in abeyance at our public concerts, has through those interesting entertainments been brought prominently before the public, and Miss Glover's position as an artist of undoubted talent would

176 Mary Jane is presumed to have been one of the 'Misses Glover' who taught harp at Professor Glover's Royal Irish Institution in 1856.

177 'La Traviata', described as a 'brilliant fantasia for harp and piano', is dedicated to Aptommas 'by his pupil Emilie Glover'. This work was viewed in the British Library in London in 2018 and is published by Edwin Ashdown, Hanover Square, London.

178 See Appendix II.

179 Lloyd's hand position and left shoulder orientation were described in an obituary in the *IT*, published on 25 March 1929.

180 Described as 'first' harp recital in *SNL*, 16 March 1868. Note Madeline (soprano) and Professor Glover also performed. Note that she gave 'harp recitals' in the Round Room of the Rotunda on 15 and 16 May 1866 (between 3 and 5pm) as part of a Bazaar in aid of St. Mary's Industrial Training School, Stanhope Street. *DEPost*, 16 May 1866 and *Evening Freeman* 16 May 1866.

181 *SNL*, 16 March 1868. A report in the *Dublin Daily Express* on 5 October 1867 confirms that Emilie accompanied Mademoiselle Titiens for 'Home Sweet Home' and Mr Santley for 'How dear to me the hour' and 'When in death I shall calm recline.'

182 *FJ*, 23 March 1868.

decide the question of the success which would almost in every case follow an effort so congenial to the public feeling and taste.¹⁸³

Emilie was, like her older sister, mistakenly affiliated with the ‘national instrument’, despite the fact that she was schooled in the European tradition and performed on the pedal harp. In 1867, for example, the *Waterford News* commended Emilie’s proficiency on ‘Erin’s instrument, the harp’ following two performances at Waterford Town Hall.¹⁸⁴ The same publication had reported the previous week that she would be performing on the ‘Double-Action Erard Harp’.¹⁸⁵ The diversity of Emilie’s repertoire throughout her career, including works by Bochsa, John Thomas, Oberthür, Parish Alvars, Labarre and Aptommas, indicates that she performed almost exclusively a double-action pedal harp.¹⁸⁶ Like her sister, a rare diversion to a non-pedal harp was in the spirit of demonstration; in October 1864, Miss Glover performed national airs ‘upon the old Irish harp’ at the Athenaeum in Cork.¹⁸⁷ Two works attributed to Emilie Glover, ‘La Traviata’ and ‘Erin’ -- both duets for harp and piano -- require pedal changes, and contain passages outside the range of non-pedal harps.¹⁸⁸

In 1869, Emilie Glover’s activities as a harpist in Ireland prompted the *Irish Times* to bestow the title ‘Ireland’s Only Harpist’ upon her.¹⁸⁹ To an extent, this title was appropriate, given how active she had been as a performer in Ireland since her début in 1865 until this point; however, it should be considered that Emilie’s reputation in the 1860s may have benefited from her sister’s professional hiatus at this time. Also in her favour was the fact that Owen Lloyd, a fellow student of Aptommas and with whom Emilie performed in 1879, only gained credibility as a pedal harpist in the late 1870s, by which stage Emilie had moved to London.

Emilie’s involvement in her father’s lecture recitals in the 1860s and 1870s saw her perform throughout Ireland; in counties Dublin, Waterford, Louth, Kerry and Clare, with the result that she gained substantial performance experience before moving to

183 *FJ*, 23 February 1869.

184 *Waterford News*, 13 December 1867.

185 *Waterford News*, 6 December 1867. Note other examples: In December 1869, an article in the DDE lamented the idea that the ‘national instrument’ was neglected in public performance in Ireland, except in instances where Emilie Glover was engaged by Italian artists in Dublin. *DDE*, 2 Dec 1869.

186 See Appendix III.

187 Concert took place on 3 October 1864. Review in *CC*, 4 October 1864.

188 These works have been viewed in the manuscripts division of the British Library.

189 *IT*, 23 March 1869: ‘This talented young lady announces the last of her Harp Recitals for this day at 3 o’clock, at her residence, 14 Talbot Street. We trust with confidence in the result being similar to what has hitherto crowned her efforts “Ireland’s only Harpist” may be fairly applied to a young lady, who by the classic associations of her family or her own individual merits, we have all to be proud of.’

London.¹⁹⁰ She continued to perform with her father, and indeed her siblings, throughout her career, both in Ireland and in London.¹⁹¹ Emilie's performances with Professor Glover in London brought her to the attention of the London press. In 1871, she performed for the first time in London as part of the premiere of her father's cantata *St Patrick's Eve* at St. George's Hall.¹⁹² This event was reviewed in a number of London publications including the *Weekly Register*, *The Era*, the *London Observer*, and the *London Standard*.¹⁹³ The *London Standard* observed that Emilie had 'delighted the audience with her excellent performance on the harp.'¹⁹⁴ Emilie is noted as having collaborated with her father for the last time in 1898, the year before he died, at a lecture on 'The Irish Harp' given at the Ulster Association's Meeting at the Holborn Restaurant in London.¹⁹⁵

In August 1874, Emilie was praised in two high-ranking music periodicals in London; *The Musical World*, for her performance at the British Musical and Dramatic Institute,¹⁹⁶ and the *Figaro*, for her performance at the Princess' Concert Rooms.¹⁹⁷ Her perseverance as a harpist in London was rewarded in January 1875 when she was appointed solo harpist at the Alexandra Palace in London, then under the direction of Sir Edward Lee. The *Freeman's Journal* reported Emilie's appointment to Alexandra Palace as follows:

MISS EMILIE GLOVER – We are glad to perceive that the above talented young lady (daughter of Professor Glover) has been appointed by the directors of the Royal Alexandra Palace, London, solo harpist at that institution.¹⁹⁸

190 See Appendix III.

191 For example, Emilie and her father are noted as having performed her duet 'Erin' for harp and piano in Brompton, London in 1884, *Drogheda Argus and Leinster Journal*, 26 April 1884. At a Grand Concert at the Antient Concert Rooms to commemorate the centenary of Moore's birth in May 1879, Emilie performed with her father and sister Madeline. *SNL*, 30 May 1879.

192 *London Standard*, 16 March 1871. The article states that 'St. Patrick's Eve' was performed in Dublin the previous year.

193 All reviews are reproduced in *FJ*, 19 May 1871.

194 *FJ*, 19 May 1871 (review printed in *FJ* from *London Standard*).

195 'At the Ulster Association's meeting at the Holborn Restaurant, on Monday evening, Mr S Shannon Millin, barrister-at-law, will lecture on "The Irish Harp". Mme Emilie Grey, the well-known harpist, will give the musical illustrations, and it is expected that Professor J.W. Glover, of Dublin, will be present to assist. The professor is grandfather to my ingenious young friend "Jimmie", the pride of Old Drury's orchestra.' *The Referee*, 28 May 1898.

196 *Weekly FJ*, 15 August 1874: 'The London Musical World, in criticizing the concert of the British Musical and Dramatic Society, given in London on Monday evening last, speaks highly of the harp performance of Miss Emilie Glover, whose artistic rendering of an elegant solo by John Thomas (harpist to the Queen) was received with marked favour and re-demanded by an audience composed of the most distinguished XX in London.' (XX not visible).

197 *FJ*, 11 September 1874 'The London Figaro speaks highly of the harp performance of Miss Emilie Glover, at the Princess's Concert Rooms on Monday evening last.'

198 *FJ*, 30 January 1875. Note that at the Belfast Choral Association concert in the Ulster Hall in Belfast in March 1876 at which Mrs Mackey, Priscilla Frost and Miss Trust, also performed, one of the harpists listed was William Putnam, described as 'harpist of the Alexandra Palace, London'. Putnam may have replaced Emilie Grey. See *Northern Whig*, 23 March 1876.

It is likely that Mr Lee encountered Emilie in Dublin through his directorship of the Exhibition Palace in Dublin, a venue she is known to have performed in on a number of occasions. For example, Emilie is noted to have performed at the official opening of the palace attended by the Lord Mayor of London on 1 May 1875.¹⁹⁹ It is not known how long she maintained the post at Alexandra Palace, or what her duties entailed. Harpist Mr Putnam, who performed in the ‘Band of Harps’ for the Belfast Choral Association in March 1877, alongside Emilie and Mrs Mackey, was described in the *Belfast Newsletter* as being ‘of the Alexandra Palace’ in 1877. This suggests that Emilie’s tenure at the Palace was short-lived.

Emilie Glover was the only Irish pedal harpist to emulate the success of Boleyne Reeves, on the basis that she had a tangible profile outside Ireland. Her proficiency as a harpist was again recognised by *The Musical World* in 1876, one year after marriage to Samuel Grey in London.²⁰⁰ The following is an extract from the article, reprinted in the *Irish Times* on 9 December 1876:

‘Tis strange that the harp, an instrument so poetic and characteristic in the hands of a lady, should have so few female artists of sufficient power and ability to obtain that attention and interest in the concert-room which genius alone can command. The talented harpist M^{de}. Emilie Grey, whose name is now so favourably known in musical circles, combines in her performance, to an eminent degree, not only the grace and elegance so appropriate to this instrument, but at the same time, the practical ability necessary to fulfil the requirements of modern composers who have enriched their scores by the introduction of this charming adjunct.²⁰¹

Although Emilie settled in London in c.1872, she is known to have travelled back and forth to Ireland to perform and to teach. This was in marked contrast to Boleyne Reeves who never returned to Ireland after his emigration to London in 1831. Advertisements for Emilie’s teaching suggest that she returned to the family residence, 14 Talbot Street, where she accepted pupils. In October 1872, for example, her ‘return to Dublin for the season’ was announced, along with her availability for harp lessons either at her residence or along the Bray and Kingstown train line.²⁰² It has been noted that she performed in Ireland in 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1877, 1879 and 1880.²⁰³ Many of her performances involved collaboration with Mary Jane, often under the direction of their father. Notable collaborations between the Glover sisters include a ‘Grand Charity Concert’ at the Antient

199 *FJ*, 3 May 1875.

200 Marriage notice in *Waterford Mirror and Tramore Advertiser*, 9 June 1875.

201 *Weekly Irish Times*, 9 Dec 1876.

202 *FJ*, 26 October 1872.

203 See Appendix III.

Concert Rooms (1873),²⁰⁴ the National Music Festival at the Exhibition Palace (1877),²⁰⁵ the Ulster Choral Association's annual concert at the Ulster Hall (1877),²⁰⁶ the Moore Centenary Commemoration at the Exhibition Palace (1879),²⁰⁷ and Adolf Sjöden's 'Harp Revival Festival' in the Rotunda (1879).²⁰⁸

Although this research has determined that Mary Jane and Emilie were sisters, it is confounding that they were never explicitly referred to as such in the press, particularly when they are known to have performed together on multiple occasions. For example, both sisters are known to have performed at Moore's Centenary Concert at the Exhibition Palace in May 1879; however, a preliminary programme printed in the *Irish Times* outlined that the programme for the evening would include 'Madame Gedge (née Miss Glover), Madame Emilie (Glover) Grey and Mrs Mackey.'²⁰⁹ It is worth observing in this incidence that attention was drawn to Madeline and Emilie's maiden name, and not to the maiden name of Mrs Mackey.

Based on the frequency of citations to Emilie Grey in news archives, she was significantly less active as a harpist in the 1880s. The fact that she was not listed as a mourner at Mary Jane's funeral in 1883 may suggest that she had travelled to the United States, where she would eventually settle.²¹⁰ It appears that she visited Ireland for the last time in 1897 during the royal visit of Prince George (later King George V) to Dublin. The *Dublin Evening Telegraph* suggested that she had been invited to Dublin 'during the period of the Duke and Duchess of York's visit', although it does not say by whom.²¹¹ Newspaper

204 This concert also involved R.M. Levey (leader), Mrs Scott-Ffennell, Mr Richard Smith, Herr Elsner and Mr Grattan Kelly. Professor Glover's cantata *St. Patrick at Tara* was performed in first part of concert. *FJ*, 17 March 1873.

205 This concert included a performance of Professor Glover's oratorio *St. Patrick at Tara* and the first act of his new opera *The Deserted Village*. Advertisement in *DEM*, 15 March 1877, review in *FJ* 16 May 1877.

206 Band of Harps included: John Cheshire, Professor of Harp at the London Royal Academy of Music, and Solo Harpist to her Majesty's Opera, Mr Strether, Harpist to the Liverpool Philharmonic Society, Madame Emily Gray (of the Imperial Italian Opera), Mr Putnam (of the Crystal Palace), Madame Frost (of the St. James' Hall concerts), Mr Ffrench Davis (Harpist of the Birmingham Society), Mrs Mackey (of the Dublin concerts), Mr Putnam (of the Alexandra Palace), Mr E Owen (Harpist of the Birmingham Town Hall Concerts) and Mr Penry Williams (Harpist to the Marshioness of Downshire). Conductor was Mr Walter Newport. See *NW*, 19 March 1877.

207 *DDE*, 14 May 1879. Note that Emilie and Mrs Mackey performed Irish melodies (including 'Carolan's Concerto', 'The Last Rose of Summer', 'The Young May Moon') together with a pianist. Its success is proven by the fact that it was repeated three days later on Saturday 31 May. *DDE*, 30 May 1879.

208 See Appendix III.

209 *IT*, 21 May 1879.

210 In the *Irish Times*, the chief mourners were listed as Professor Glover (father), W.F. Glover (brother), Mr J. Mackey (husband), Jimmy Glover (son) and Michael Glover (son). *IT*, 11 June 1883.

211 *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, 14 August 1897.

advertisements in Dublin during this period describe Emilie as ‘harpist at her Majesty’s and Wagner Concerts’ and outline her intention to take a ‘limited number of pupils’ and attend to ‘At Homes’.²¹²

It is unclear exactly when Emilie emigrated to the United States. In October 1889, the *Dublin Weekly Nation* reported that she would embark on a tour ‘through the States’ with the Irish National Concert Company.²¹³ The tour was described as ‘concerts of Irish songs’, conducted by Mr. John O’Rorke, and was said to have been inspired by the endeavours of William Ludwig (formerly William Ledwidge) who had helped to revive Irish-American interest in Irish music.²¹⁴ References to her performing in London have been noted throughout the 1890s.²¹⁵

Emilie died in October 1917, the same month as her brother William who was also then resident in New York. An excerpt from a death notice, entitled ‘Death Last Month in New York of Son and Daughter’ in the *Freeman’s Journal* reported as follows:

In Dublin musical circles, and more especially amongst the older school, the deaths in New York of William Ferdinand Glover, composer, and Emily Glover (Mrs. Grey) will be heard of with feelings of great regret. Son and daughter of the late Professor Glover, the passing away of those two notable personages kindles in the minds memories of that distinguished musician, Professor Glover, who for a period of 38 years officiated with marked distinction as organist at Marlboro’ street Pro-Cathedral. Professor Glover also extended the scope of his talent to Maynooth and Clongowes Colleges, acting in the role of music adviser, and was also identified with the National Board of Education in a similar capacity.²¹⁶

It is interesting that upon her death, Emilie was not afforded any encomium by the Irish press who had extolled her throughout her career. In the above excerpt, William Ferdinand is referred to as a ‘composer’, yet there is no reference to the fact that Emilie was once Ireland’s most celebrated harpist.²¹⁷ By contrast, Mary Jane’s death was

212 *DDE*, 18 August 1897.

213 *DWN*, 28 September 1889.

214 John O’Rorke established the ‘Irish National Concert Company’ in 1889. According to the *DWN*, their tour in America, of which Emilie Grey was a part, commenced in October 1889. In creating this company, it was reported in the *DWN* that O’Rorke was imitating Ludwig, who had tried to revive Irish-American interest in Irish Music. See *DWN*, 28 September 1889. William Ludwig (Ledwidge), born in Dublin in 1852, was a bass-barritone. He sang in concerts and opera throughout Britain and Ireland and staged a number of concerts dedicated to Irish music in the 1880s and 1890s. Examples include two concerts of Irish music at Leinster Hall in Dublin on 7 & 9 September 1889. See advertisement in *DDE*, 3 September 1889; ‘The Ludwig concerts of Irish National Music’ staged at Leinster Hall on 17&18 February 1890. See advertisement in *DDE*, 17 February 1890.

215 For example, she performed at Mr Bond Andrews’ concert in London at the residence of Mr Bernard Lucas in July 1890. *The Stage*, 4 July 1890; performed at St. James’ Hall in London at on the eve of St. Patrick’s Day (16 February 1895). *Daily Telegraph & Courier*, 18 March 1895.

216 *FJ*, 6 November 1917.

217 Article stated erroneously that Jimmy Glover (Mrs Mackey’s son) was a nephew, rather than a grandson, of Professor Glover.

reported on in several Irish newspapers, although it should be taken into consideration that Mary Jane was based in Ireland throughout her career and was active as a harpist in the weeks leading up to her death. By 1917, the year of Emilie's death, it appears that her contribution to the pedal harp tradition in Ireland had been largely forgotten.

There is no doubt that the Glover sisters benefited from the platform afforded to them by their father, who was a stalwart of Ireland's art music scene. Participation in their father's recitals and lectures saw Mary Jane and Emilie gain substantial performance experience prior to embarking on their own professional careers. While the sisters collaborated together on several occasions, they managed to carve out individual successes as soloists, accompanists, orchestral harpists and teachers. Mary Jane and Emilie Glover were perennial exponents of the pedal harp. In the absence of foreign virtuosi, they ensured that Irish audiences were exposed to European harp repertoire, while equally using the pedal harp as a transmitter of Irish airs.²¹⁸

The Glover sisters were important driving forces in the maintenance of a pedal harp tradition in Ireland in the period 1850-1900. Mary Jane's professional hiatus between 1858 and 1869 exposed the fragility of pedal harp tradition in Ireland after 1850. In the absence of a significant Irish exponent of the instrument, the services of foreign virtuosi like Taylor, Oberthür and Aptommas were in high demand. Mary Jane's sister Emilie began to attract attention for her harp playing in 1865 but only began to forge independence as a soloist in 1868. In the 1870s the Glover sisters established themselves as Ireland's leading pedal harpists.

3.2.3 Owen Lloyd (c1852–1929)

Unlike the Glover sisters, who were channelled into the music profession by their father, an esteemed musician, Owen Lloyd was not born into a privileged musical family.²¹⁹

218 See Appendix III.

219 Lloyd's father Edwin was a mechanic and of Welsh extraction. In 1873 Lloyd married Rosanna Burke (of Dublin) in Saint Agatha's Church. The couple went on to have five children, two of whom died in infancy. See Diarmuid Breathnach & Máire NíMhurchú, 'Lloyd, Owen (c.1854-1929)' *The National Database of Irish Biographies (An Bunachar Náisiúnta Beathaisnéisí Gaeilge* <https://www.ainm.ie/Bio.aspx?ID=631>, accessed 12 May 2018. Lloyd is known to have resided at various addresses in Dublin, including 94 Lower Mount Street (1882: see teaching advertisement in FJ, 23 March 1882); 51 Wesley Terrace, Upper Clanbrassil Street (1884, advertisement for teaching in FJ, 13 December 1884); 53 Upper Clanbrassil Street in 1899 (FJ, 21 July 1899); 52 Kenilworth Square, Rathgar (1911 Census, see www.nationalarchives.ie).

Without the benefit of an early public platform it is therefore impressive that he established himself as one of the leading instrumentalists in Ireland between 1879 and 1929. Lloyd was born in Kilkee, Co. Clare in 1852 or 1853.²²⁰ Although little is known of his early music education, it has been reported that at the age of twelve, he was practising the harp for eight to ten hours daily.²²¹ In the early 1870s, he relocated to Dublin to pursue performance and teaching opportunities. One of his first engagements was as resident harpist at the Ship Hotel and Tavern on Lower Abbey Street, Dublin in 1872, which, for approximately twenty-five years, had employed an harper of the ancient Irish tradition to entertain guests in its coffee room.²²² In 1872, upon Lloyd's employment at the hotel, the *Irish Times* described it as 'the only Home in Dublin' that encouraged the popularity of the 'Symbolic Emblem of our Native Land'.²²³ What type of harp Lloyd performed at the Ship Hotel is unclear. That his predecessors were Irish harpers, as opposed to pedal harpists, may suggest that Lloyd's proficiency was initially on a non-pedal instrument.

Whether or not Lloyd was first exposed to the pedal harp in Dublin has yet to be determined. What has been determined is that Lloyd honed his pedal harp skills under the tuition of Adolf Sjöden and Aptommas. Sjöden (1843-1893) was a highly accomplished Swedish pedal harpist who came to Ireland for five months in 1879 to study Irish music.²²⁴ In this time, he was the architect of an 'Irish Harp Revival Festival' that took the form of three concerts at the Rotunda in May 1879.²²⁵ It was at the second of these concerts that Owen Lloyd was introduced to the public, marking the beginning of a career that spanned over fifty years. An article in the *Sunday Independent*, published in February 1936, seven years after Lloyd's death, reported that Sjöden introduced his then student Lloyd to the

220 Lloyd died on 24 March 1929. Lloyd's obituary in the *Irish Times* outlines the fact that he was seventy six years of age, suggesting that he was born after March 1852 and before March 1853. *IT*, 25 March 1929.

221 *Sunday Independent*, 2 February 1936.

222 An article in *The Irishman* on 21 September 1872 describes the tradition of an 'Irish harper' performing in the Ship Hotel on Abbey Street, and specifically refers to a harper by the name of Mr Craven who, 'deprived of vision', was employed in this position for twenty-five years. An advertisement for the Ship Hotel in the *DEP* on 18 February 1870 names the harper who replaced Craven as Mr O Hagan.

223 *IT*, 6 April 1872.

224 'We may mention that the principal reason of Herr Sjoden's visit to Ireland is to devote himself to the study of Irish music.' Quotation taken from a review of Mrs Scott-Ffennell's concert at the Antient Concert Rooms, *FJ*, 19 February 1879.

225 Adolf Sjöden (1843-1893) was a Swedish pedal harpist. After studying in Vienna, he travelled extensively in Europe, giving concerts and studying folk music. See Lia Lonnert & Helen Davies, 'A newly discovered autographed Franz Liszt transcription for the harp', Vol. *Svensk Tidskrift För Musikforskning*, 2016, available at <https://musikforskning.se/stm-sjm/node/85>, accessed 14 March 2020.

audience as a ‘genius’.²²⁶ In the immediate aftermath of the concert, the *Irish Times* reported that Lloyd played Oberthür’s transcription of a Bohemian national air with ‘enormous facility and tremendous effect’, while the *Freeman’s Journal* commended a ‘most successful debut’ executed with ‘exquisite taste’.²²⁷

When Lloyd initiated his harp studies with Aptommas is unclear.²²⁸ In an advertisement for his teaching in the *Freeman’s Journal* in 1882, he is described as a ‘pupil of the renowned harpist, Mr Aptommas’.²²⁹ At this time, Aptommas was in the midst of his sixth trip to Ireland and was well known to Irish audiences.²³⁰ Lloyd occasionally paid tribute to Aptommas, and his father, who was originally from Glamorganshire in Wales, by performing selections of Welsh melodies.²³¹ He also adopted Aptommas’ traditional Welsh technique of playing the melody with the left hand and the bass with the right hand, a reversal of what had become standard pedal harp technique in the nineteenth century. This was noted in his obituary in the *Irish Times* (1829) and is corroborated by a photograph of Lloyd sitting at the pedal harp with his hands in playing position.²³²

Lloyd’s first benefit concert took place at the Antient Concert Rooms in December 1884, almost eighteen months after the death of Mrs Mackey.²³³ No reviews of this concert have been traced; however, advertisements reveal that Lloyd established a ‘Harp Academy’ at his residence soon after this concert. An advertisement in the *Freeman’s Journal* reveals that Lloyd continued to cite a connection to Aptommas, ostensibly to authenticate his credentials:

HARP: Mr Owen Lloyd begs to announce that he has opened a Harp Academy at his residence, 51 Wesley terrace, Upper Clanbrassil St; terms moderate; Mr Lloyd also gives lessons at pupils’ residences; highest testimonials from Aptommas, &c²³⁴

226 *Sunday Independent*, 2 February 1936.

227 *IT*, 9 May 1879; *FJ*, 9 May 1879.

228 Aptommas visited Ireland five times between 1864 and 1875: 1864, 1865, 1869, 1874, and 1875. See section 3.1.3.

229 Advertisement for Lloyd’s teaching in *FJ*, 23 March 1882.

230 See section 3.1.3.

231 Following his death, an article on Lloyd in the *IT* states: ‘He was the son of the late Mr Edwin Lloyd, of Glamorganshire, Wales, and was born in Kilkee, Co. Clare’. See *IT*, 25 March 1829. In 1882, for example, Lloyd performed a ‘Welsh air with variations’ at an Exhibition of Irish Arts and Manufacturers in Dublin. *FJ*, 25 Oct 1882. Ten years later, he performed a ‘Fantasia on Welsh Airs’ at the Catholic Commercial Club. *FJ*, 25 Feb 1882. Emilie Glover, another of Aptommas’ Irish protégées, also paid tribute to Aptommas by performing Welsh melodies. See section 3.2.2 and Appendix III.

232 The photograph appeared in the *Sunday Independent* on 2 February 1936.

233 *FJ*, 29 November 1884. Conductor Mr Houghton. Lloyd enlisted the help of his student Miss S. Sullivan.

234 *FJ*, 13 December 1884.

Lloyd was a respected member of Ireland's art music community, and this is verified by the fact that he performed with several leading Irish musicians, including R.M. Levey,²³⁵ Herr Elsner, Joseph Robinson²³⁶ and Professor Glover.²³⁷ In 1886, his harp playing was recognised in an official capacity when he was appointed harpist to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Countess of Aberdeen.²³⁸ A survey of Lloyd's concert activity between 1879 and 1900 (see Appendix III) reveals that he regularly combined works by Oberthür, Parish Alvars, John Thomas, Aptommas with selections of Irish or Welsh melodies. For example, in April 1885, at a concert in Lurgan for the town's music society, Lloyd performed a solo by Parish Alvars, a fantasia on Irish airs (arranged by himself) and an original piece by Godefroid entitled 'La Danse des Sylphs'.²³⁹ At a 'grand instrumental and vocal concert' in Enniscorthy in February 1888, Lloyd performed an 'Irish selection', 'La Danse des Sylphs', two duets by Oberthür for harp and violin with violinist Mr Griffiths, and a harp and piano duet with Mr Geraghty by Meyerbeer.²⁴⁰

The variety of Lloyd's repertoire affirms the fact that his instrument of choice was, prior to 1900, the double-action pedal harp. Like Mary Jane and Emilie Glover, he was sometimes mistakenly credited with performances on the 'native' or 'national' instrument.²⁴¹ For example, although Lloyd performed 'La Danse des Sylphs' (written specifically for pedal harp) at the Whitworth Hall in Drogheda in March 1885, a local newspaper commended his ability on the 'native' instrument. This review reflected a pervading misconception that all manifestations of the harp were indigenous to Ireland. The review stated:

To listen to the harp as played by Mr Owen Lloyd was a rare treat indeed. The wonderful resources of the native instrument, touched by the flying fingers of such a master, were brought out with a power and effect that evoked the warmest applause. "Brian Boroimhe's March", "Patrick's Day",

235 A grand concert in Round Room of Rotunda on 12 May 1884, *FJ*, 10 May 1884.

236 Both Elsner and Robinson at Elsner's annual concert at Antient Concert Rooms, 30 May 1879. *DDE*, 23 May 1879. Note that Elsner died soon after this in August 1884.

237 Moore Centenary Concerts conducted by Professor Glover at the Exhibition Palace: 28 May and 31 May 1879.

238 'Their Excellencies the Lord Lieutenant and Countess of Aberdeen have been graciously pleased to appoint Mr Owen Lloyd Irish harpist to their Excellencies.' *DDE*, 15 May 1886.

239 *NW*, 8 April 1885 Closing concert of the season at Town Hall, Lurgan.

240 *Wexford People*, 1 February 1888. Note two concerts took place two nights in succession at the Christian Schools Enniscorthy. This programme is taken from the first concert. Harp & Violin duets were 'Berceuse' and 'La Priere', piano duet was 'Dinorah'.

241 Lloyd ultimately channel his skills as a pedal harpist into the Irish harp tradition that evolved in the late nineteenth century. Erroneous references to the 'native' instrument are therefore taken from the 1880s.

“The Planxties”, “La Danse des Sylphs”, & c, made up a treat of harp music such as the auditory have not enjoyed for many a day.²⁴²

Lloyd was active as a pedal harpist at a time when Ireland’s cultural aesthetic was changing – when there was renewed interest in preserving and promoting Irish language and culture – and this had a profound effect on the trajectory of his career in the 1890s.²⁴³ It was noted in May 1895 that Lloyd ‘deplored the hold which the music-hall airs of England had taken upon the people of this country’.²⁴⁴ His disaffection with the prominence of foreign music on the Irish stage may explain a decline in performances that included repertoire of the European pedal harp tradition. Lloyd continued to perform on the pedal harp, however he ultimately utilised the instrument as a conduit for the transmission of Irish airs. There are no accounts of him performing European pedal harp repertoire after 1899.²⁴⁵

Although this research is chiefly concerned with his activities as a pedal harpist prior to 1900, it should be acknowledged that Owen Lloyd siphoned his skills as a pedal harpist into the cultivation of the Irish harp tradition that emerged in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Lloyd initiated harp classes through the Gaelic League in 1897, and these proved popular in a cultural climate that fostered indigenous art.²⁴⁶ There was an increase in the production of non-pedal harps in Ireland, and Lloyd was happy to endorse the instruments of new Irish harp makers, including James McFall and John Toner in Belfast.²⁴⁷

242 Concert for Drogheda Cricket and Lawn Tennis Club. See *Drogheda Argus and Leinster Journal*, 21 March 1885.

243 The late nineteenth century saw renewed interest in preserving the tenets of indigenous Irish culture, including the Irish language, Irish music and Irish literature–Gaelic revivalism–was punctuated in 1893 by the establishment of the Gaelic League – the *raison d’être* of which was to encourage the use of the Irish language in everyday life and, in doing so, counter the ‘Anglicisation’ of Ireland. The sentiments behind the establishment of the Gaelic League are captured in Douglas Hyde’s seminal speech delivered to the National Literary Society in 1792. See Douglas Hyde. ‘The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland,’ in *Language, Lore and Lyrics: essays & letters*, ed. Brendan Ó Conaire (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1896), 170.

244 *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, 6 July 1885.

245 In 1899, Lloyd performed ‘La Danse des Sylphs’ at an event for the National Literary Society. *Dublin Daily Nation*, 13 Dec 1899.

246 ‘The harp class in connection with the Gaelic League will being this (Thursday) evening at eight o’ clock, in the rooms, 24 Upper O Connell street, and will be conducted by Mr Owen Lloyd.’ *Irish Independent*, 28 October 1897.

247 John Toner: ‘The Celtic Harp Company’ in Old Park Terrace in Belfast. ‘I have much pleasure in testifying to the excellence of your small Irish harp. *Irish News & Belfast Morning News*, 4 July 1904. James McFall: ‘I have much pleasure in stating that I am very highly pleased with the small Irish harp which you sent for my opinion. It possesses a very fine tone indeed and is very graceful in appearance.’ *Irish News & Belfast Morning News*, 22 March 1902.

The pedal harp tradition in Ireland was fortified by the intercession of foreign harpists, however the contribution of Irish pedal harpists should not be undervalued. Irish harpists with a public profile, including Owen Lloyd and the Glover sisters, ensured that the pedal harp occupied a conspicuous position on Ireland's concert stage. As a result of their endeavours, both as performers and teachers, there was an uninterrupted lineage of pedal harp activity in Ireland between 1850 and 1900. Lloyd and the Glover sisters are only noted to have collaborated together in 1879. In May 1879, Lloyd performed with Mrs Mackey at Sjöden's Harp Revival Festival at the Rotunda.²⁴⁸ Later that month, all three performed at a commemoration of Thomas Moore at the Exhibition Palace, under the direction of Professor Glover.²⁴⁹

II Pedagogy

3.3 Introduction

The most remarkable difference between the pedal harp tradition in Ireland before and after 1850 was in the delivery of pedagogy. Although individual pedal harpists continued to teach from their residences and travel to their students' homes, the wider infrastructure around female education in Ireland changed significantly in the period 1850-1900, and this had a direct impact on pedal harp tuition. After 1850, private seminaries, historically marketed as exclusive educational institutions for ladies, continued to operate in urban areas; however, their relevance and influence was negated by a rapid growth in convent school education in Ireland. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, a number of convent schools, particularly those run by the Loreto nuns, had established themselves as centres of pedal harp pedagogy.²⁵⁰ In addition to perpetuating the female-harpist stereotype, the centralisation of harp teaching in convent schools improved access to pedal harp tuition by facilitating it within the wider realms of women's education. Although convent education was initially geared towards the middle-class, the availability of pedal harp tuition in convent schools was an important foundation for the

248 See Appendix III.

249 Note Sjöden was also part of the band of harps in 28 May concert but not in 31 May concert. This concert – first held on 28 May but repeated three nights later – featured a chorus of over two hundred voices and a 'band of harps', led by the Glover sisters and Lloyd. See Appendix III.

250 For example, Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham and Loreto Convent Dalkey.

endurance of a pedal harp tradition in Ireland into the twentieth century, which depended, almost exclusively, on ladies who were educated at these institutions. The Royal Irish Academy of Music (RIAM) also made a contribution to the field of pedagogy by employing its first pedal harp teacher, Mary Mackey, in 1871, and continuing to provide pedal harp tuition in Dublin for the remainder of the nineteenth century. The availability of pedal harp tuition at the RIAM signified a wider acknowledgement that the pedal harp was part of the day-to-day fabric of Dublin art-music life. It was through the RIAM and convent schools that pedal harp students were afforded the opportunity to perform in public, to interact with other music students, and to participate in graded examinations and music competitions, including the Feis Ceoil, established in 1897.

It is worth noting that teaching advertisements in the period 1850-1900 do not provide any clues if any particular teaching methodologies that were proliferated by harp pedagogues. This indicates that there was no predominant European harp-teaching system in Ireland and that repertoire and performance techniques taught to student and amateur Irish pedal harpists are likely to have been varied and personality dependent. Pedal harp repertoire in nineteenth-century Irish music collections – particularly, for example, in the Loreto Collection – is indicative of what was taught in specific pedagogical settings; however, as Chapter 5 will elucidate, more conclusive extrapolations may be drawn only when further collections are accessed and larger data sets are available.

3.3.1 Loreto schools

In 1823, the Loreto order of religious sisters opened its first educational institution in Ireland, Loreto Abbey in Rathfarnham, Dublin in response to a growing demand for the provision of improved Catholic education for girls.²⁵¹ In the ensuing years, a number of Loreto schools were established throughout the country. Collectively these institutions became a mainstay of female education in Ireland in the nineteenth century.

Loreto schools offered eclectic curricula for young girls with a strong emphasis on music. The importance assigned to instrumental and vocal tuition was, in all likelihood, grounded in the fact that music was one of few professions considered acceptable for women in the nineteenth century. The presence of harp music at Loreto events, at concerts and religious occasions, can be traced back to the 1840s, and advertisements for various

251 The history of the Loreto order in Ireland can be accessed through the Loreto Ireland website. See www.loreto.ie/historym, accessed 14 March 2017.

Loreto schools confirm that harp tuition was offered as early as the 1850s. In 1843, for example, harp music featured at the opening of Loreto Convent, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.²⁵² At a profession of five new nuns at Loreto Abbey in Rathfarnham in 1850, it was reported in the *Dublin Evening Post* that the harp was one of the instruments to feature in a subsequent celebratory concert given by the students.²⁵³ In the late 1850s, Loreto convents in Wexford and Cork are noted as having offered harp tuition for an additional fee. For example, in Loreto Convent, Gorey, dancing, drawing and organ tuition were an extra £1 per quarter, while harp and guitar tuition was over twice the price at £2 2s per quarter.²⁵⁴ Early references to harp repertoire at school events confirm that Loreto students performed on pedal harps, which by the 1850s were the standard concert instrument. For example, at the annual school concert in Loreto, Fermoy, Co. Cork in 1859, a programme in the *Cork Examiner* detailed four duets for harp and piano: two by Nicholas Charles Bochsa, one by John B. Chatterton and one by Gerhard Taylor.²⁵⁵ In 1865, at the same institution, a concert programme included two duets by Charles Oberthür.²⁵⁶

By the 1890s, it was clear that Loreto schools were having a considerable impact on harp tuition in Ireland. This coincided with a time when the influx of foreign virtuosi to Ireland had noticeably declined, although it is difficult to delineate whether or not the two phenomena were linked.²⁵⁷ Instrumental tuition at Loreto schools was conducted internally by a number of Loreto nuns who were proficient music teachers, and bolstered by the employment of renowned pedagogues from outside the order, including pianist Michele Esposito and violinist Guido Papini.²⁵⁸ Although the individual names of nuns who taught music were not in public circulation (they were invariably referred to as

252 *Dublin Weekly Nation*, 19 August 1843

253 *DEPost*, 5 Feb 1850

254 This may have taken into account a charge that would be incurred to solicit external teachers. *Wexford People*, 4 October 1856.

255 ‘Aria Finale’ from *Lucia di Lamermoor* (Bochsa), Scotch Melodies, arranged by Bochsa for harp and pianoforte, ‘The Swiss Maidens’, arranged for harp and pianoforte by J.B. Chatterton, Aria – Deserta Sulla Terra (*Il Trovatore*), arranged by Gerhard Taylor for harp and pianoforte. *Cork Examiner*, 1st August 1859.

256 ‘L’echo de L’opera No. 2’ (‘La Fille du Regiment’) and ‘L’echo de L’opera No. 3’ (‘Trovatore’), both arranged for harp and pianoforte by Charles Oberthür. *Cork Examiner*, 5 August 1865.

257 Aptommas visited Ireland for a final time in 1896. Reports suggest that Oberthür intended to visit Ireland in June 1895, a few months before his death, however this has not been corroborated.

258 Jeremy Dibble. *Michele Esposito* (Dublin: Field Day Publications, 2010), 59–60.

‘members of the community’), articles in the press consistently referenced the standard of music tuition in Loreto schools. In April 1893, an article in the *Freeman’s Journal*, following a pupils’ concert at Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham, cited the high standard of music, the prominence of the harp and an anonymous nun who was responsible for the success of her harp students:

Everybody was delighted, and perhaps it is no harm to say that nearly everybody was surprised to find so high a level of musical excellence attained at a pupils’ concert. A remarkable feature of the programme, which was the same on both days, was the unusual number and interest of the instrumental items, and in particular the prominence given to the harp. A fantasia for four harps, written on national airs by Oberthur, was one of the most successful pieces performed and it was played in the most admirable manner by four pupils of the convent. It is revealing no secret that the teacher of this instrument at Rathfarnham, whose great success is seen in the success of her pupils, is one of the nuns. Miss Josephine Sullivan, whose instruction on this instrument is primarily down to this lady, was heard at her very best at these concerts in a very difficult concerto by Oberthur (Op 175) which she played with remarkable vigour and finish. Another young lady played a very delicate and beautiful harp solo – La Danse des Fées – in the most charming and beautiful manner.²⁵⁹

The nun to which this article referred was Mother Attracta Coffey, a pioneering force in the propagation of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Mother Attracta (née Mary Coffey) was born in Mullingar in 1849 and entered into Loreto as a postulant in 1868. She was professed to religious life in 1870. As ‘musical directress’ at Loreto in Rathfarnham she helped to cultivate a high standard of musicianship.²⁶⁰ Mother Attracta’s grounding was in the European pedal harp tradition, and it was in this tradition that her students were also schooled. According to Sheila Larchet Cuthbert, her teacher is reported to have been the illustrious Welsh pedal harpist John Thomas.²⁶¹ As discussed, John Thomas is known to have abandoned the traditional Welsh technique (playing the treble with the left hand and bass with right hand and positioning the harp on the left shoulder) in favour of the modern pedal harp technique espoused by his English teacher, John B. Chatterton. This technique was in turn adopted by Mother Attracta and passed on to her students. An obituary published in the *Musical Times* encapsulated Mother Attracta’s musical legacy as follows:

This estimable lady had spent fifty years in propagating a high standard of music among her pupils at Rathfarnham, and it is an open secret that she was the prime-mover in creating at that well-equipped boarding school a musical tradition that has already borne fruit. All over Ireland her pupils are bearing testimony to the zeal she displayed in furthering the cause of classical music.²⁶²

259 *FJ*, 7 April 1893.

260 Biographical information in relation to Mother Attracta Coffey was accessed through the Loreto Archives, 55 St. Stephen’s Green, Dublin 2.

261 This information was provided by Dr. Sheila Larchet Cuthbert in 2018. An inscription from Thomas has been noted in repertoire from the Loreto Collection. See Chapter 5: Section 5.5.

262 *The Musical Times*, 1 November 1920.

It is true that Mother Attracta's success was manifested in the triumphs of her pupils. A testament to her excellence as a harp teacher was the fact that two of her former students, Josephine Sullivan and Angela O'Connor, were appointed successive harp teachers at the Royal Irish Academy of Music in 1889 and 1894. Sullivan, daughter of Alexander M. Sullivan, who was a distinguished Irish politician, pursued a successful performance career that saw her receive the patronage of Countess Aberdeen, wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and perform extensively in Ireland, England and the United States.²⁶³ Like her contemporaries, she was mistakenly aligned with the 'Irish national instrument', despite clear indications she performed on the pedal harp.²⁶⁴ O Connor, who at seventeen years of age was remarkably young to teach at the RIAM, pursued a religious vocation. She returned to her *alma mater* in 1899, was professed a Loreto nun in 1902 and assumed the title Mother Alphonsus. Mother Alphonsus succeeded Mother Attracta as musical directress at Rathfarnham and is known also to have had a profound impact on her students. Jeanne Reddin McDonald (1915–2016), a former Loreto student who became a respected *repetiteur* and accompanist, described Mother Alphonsus as an 'outstanding' musician, and attested that she would have been destined for international eminence had she not have chosen a religious path. In a tribute to Mother Alphonsus, she surmised that 'the world's loss was Loreto Abbey's gain'.²⁶⁵

Harp tuition in Loreto schools, under the stewardship of Mother Attracta and Mother Alphonsus, was effectively a private phenomenon and there are no records in the Loreto archives that offer any detail in relation to harp classes and the numbers of students who

263 Josephine Sullivan studied pedal harp at Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham and was taught by 'one of the nuns'. See review of Loreto school concert in *FJ*, 7 April 1893. In 1891, she was awarded honours in the senior harp grade by the Duchess of Leinster. See *Irish Society (Dublin)*, 5 December 1891. On 24 October 1898, a concert was held at the ACR in tribute to Miss Sullivan and vocalist Miss Helen Hamilton Croft who were due to embark on a tour of the United States. See *Dublin Daily Nation*, 24 October 1898. In June 1900, the *Dublin Daily Nation* reported that Sullivan had performed to great acclaim in Chicago, Washington and New York. *DDN*, 2 June 1900.

264 See review of concert at ACR in *DDN*, 24 October 1898. 'Her brilliant performances on the Irish national instrument [...] have earned for her a reputation of pre-eminent ability'. Repertoire included a 'harp study in G flat' which only would have been possible on double-action pedal harp. See Appendix III for further repertoire examples.

265 This tribute to Mother Alphonsus was accessed through the Loreto Archives. The tribute is contained in a biography of Mother Alphonsus sent to me by Áine McHugh, archivist for the Loreto order in Ireland. The exact quotation is as follows: 'As a musician, M. Alphonsus was quite outstanding. As pianist, organist and harpist there were few to match her and her musical scholarship was universally recognised. It is generally accepted that had she not decided to enter the religious life, but to follow a musical career in the world, she would have undoubtedly established an international reputation. The world's loss was Loreto Abbey's gain.' Note that there is a prize in Jeannie Reddin McDonald's honour at the annual Feis Ceoil.

partook. It is therefore valuable that the results of graded examinations, conducted by the Royal Irish Academy of Music and Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, were occasionally published in the Irish press in the 1890s.²⁶⁶ These results are tangible outputs and indicate that the teaching staff at Loreto considered emerging systems of musical assessment a valuable means of maintaining high standards of performance. In August 1894, for example, the *Derry Journal* published a list of students of Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham who were recently successful in local centre examinations in a variety of instruments including harp, piano, organ, violin, cello and singing. The list included eleven harp students, all taught by ‘a member of the community’ (Mother Attracta) at junior and senior level. One of the students listed, Phyllis Paul, was former owner of a collection of pedal harp music that will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Nineteenth-century pedal harpists often attracted attention for their flamboyant and virtuosic displays on the instrument, however Mother Attracta and Mother Alphonsus were not motivated by public adulation; they were committed to religious life and the education of their students. On this basis it is difficult to compare them to their Irish counterparts who had prominent public profiles. Owen Lloyd and the Glover sisters would undoubtedly have attracted interest in harp lessons through their public performances. Loreto nuns, on the other hand, rarely performed in public and their impact on the development of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland was pedagogical. Mother Alphonsus is noted as having performed on the pedal harp for Queen Victoria in April 1900, however this was in the context of the Queen visiting Loreto Abbey and not in the context of a public concert.²⁶⁷

Like Owen Lloyd, Mother Attracta and Mother Alphonsus applied their skills as pedal harpists to the non-pedal harp tradition (Irish harp) that emerged at the turn of the century, and exploited the resources of the harp (pedal and non-pedal) to transmit and preserve

266 Local centre examinations for the Royal Irish Academy of Music were initiated in 1894 under the direction of Michele Esposito, and Loreto schools were among the first local centres for these examinations. Note the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music was established in 1889 by Alexander Mackenzie (Royal Academy of Music) and George Grove (Royal College of Music). Mackenzie and Grove decided that both institutions should form an associated examining board to run joint local exams. See David Allinson, ‘Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music.’ *Grove Music Online*

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000001434>, accessed 19 April 2019.

267 For an account of Queen Victoria’s visit to Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham, see <https://churcharchives.ie/document-of-the-month/queenvictoriavisit1900/>, accessed 10 April 2018.

Irish national melodies.²⁶⁸ Mother Attracta's tutor for the Irish harp, published in 1903, became an intrinsic part of harp pedagogy in Ireland.²⁶⁹ Her arrangements of Irish melodies for both Irish and pedal harp were a welcome addition to the repertory at a time when the performance of indigenous music was perceived as an important expression of Irish identity.²⁷⁰ In keeping with her anonymity, these were published under the acronym 'M.A.C.'

Although outside the remit of this thesis, it is important to note that the influence of the Loreto nuns on the propagation of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland endured beyond 1900. A testament to this is the success of Loreto students in Feis Ceoil pedal harp competitions between 1900 and 1920. The inaugural year of the Feis Ceoil was 1897, however harp competitions garnered negligible interest until 1900.²⁷¹ Mother Attracta is said to have been instrumental in ensuring that harp competitions were included in the Feis Ceoil.²⁷² By including competitions for both the 'modern double-action harp' and the 'small Irish harp' (from 1900 onwards), this festival helped to re-establish the musical parameters of two distinct, albeit connected, harp traditions in Ireland. It is interesting to note that in 1900, one participant, Miss Kerr from Lisburn, was awarded second prize in the Junior Pedal Harp competition and third prize in the Small Irish Harp competition.²⁷³ This is evidence that the modern Irish harp tradition that emerged in the late nineteenth century was steeped in the pedal harp tradition, through the influence of harpists like Owen Lloyd and Mother Attracta Coffey, both of whom were schooled in the pedal harp tradition.

Mother Attracta Coffey and Mother Alphonsus O Connor were crucial in sustaining a high level of pedal harp tuition in Ireland in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

268 There is correspondence in the Loreto archives detailing the purchase of harps and accessories. In 1903, Mother Attracta made arrangements to send four of McFall's harps to the order's convent in Balarat, Australia for the students to learn upon. For further information, consult the archivist at the Loreto Irish Province Archives, 55 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.

269 'Tutor for the Irish harp', published by the Vincent Company in London in 1903. This was incorporated into *The Irish Harp Book, a tutor and companion* by Sheila Larchet Cuthbert in 1975.

270 These four books are detailed in the 1896 Loreto publication 'Eucalyptus Blossoms'. This can be accessed online at https://www.loreto.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/1903_Eucalyptus-Blossoms.pdf, accessed 10 April 2018.

271 In 1897, the inaugural year of the Feis Ceoil competitions, Mrs Kenny won the 'Harp solo' competition, while Miss May O'Keeffe was awarded the prize for best performance of Irish airs. Owen Lloyd and Brendan Rogers adjudicated the harp competitions. There were no harp competitions in 1898 due to lack of interest. *Dublin Daily Nation*, 27 April 1898.

272 Sheila Larchet-Cuthbert. *The Irish Harp Book* (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1993), 239.

273 *Weekly Irish Times*, 26 May 1900

The climate of learning they fostered helped to future-proof the pedal harp tradition in Ireland, and cultivate an Irish harp tradition steeped in the technical principles of the European tradition. Mother Alphonsus' return to Loreto in 1899 ensured that the culture of high-calibre harp tuition with which Loreto schools had become associated, was seamlessly sustained in the ensuing decades. It is a testament to the gravity of influence of Loreto nuns on the pedal harp tradition in Ireland that many of Ireland's leading pedal harpists today can trace their pedagogical lineage to this institution.²⁷⁴

3.3.2 *The Royal Irish Academy of Music*

Ireland's oldest musical teaching institution, the Irish (later Royal Irish) Academy of Music (RIAM), was established in 1848. In its formative years (1848-1856), instrumental and vocal classes were held at the Antient Concert Rooms on Great Brunswick Street. As part of a process of reorganisation, the institution moved to 18 St. Stephen's Green in 1856. After securing government funding in 1870, a premises at 36 Westland Row was acquired, which was eventually extended to include two adjacent buildings in 1915.²⁷⁵ The formation of the RIAM was due to the collective endeavours of musicians like Francis and Joseph Robinson, John Smith, Samuel J. Piggott, Charles Graves and John Stanford, who recognised the need for a musical teaching institution in Dublin that could be benchmarked against similar institutions in London and further afield.²⁷⁶

The RIAM was progressive in its approach to the employment of women. After the institution's reorganisation in 1856, Fanny Robinson (1831-1879) was appointed as a senior piano teacher and also as a supervisor to all female students. Mrs Robinson's appointment was public acknowledgement that women had a significant role to play in Irish music education, and it is likely that her set a precedent in terms of the employment of other female pedagogues. In 1871, Mary Jane Mackey was appointed as first professor of harp at the RIAM. At this time, and as outlined in 3.2.1, Mackey was Ireland's most

274 Harpists in this lineage include Sheila Larchet Cuthbert who was taught by Mother Alphonsus at Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham. Larchet Cuthbert is widely recognised for her influence in the pedal harp and Irish harp traditions in Ireland. In 2013, she was awarded an honorary doctorate by Dublin Institute of Technology Conservatory of Music and Drama (Now Technological University Dublin Conservatoire) for her contributions to the field of harp teaching, research and advocacy.

275 An abridged history of the RIAM is documented on the institution's website. See www.riam.ie/about/history, accessed 17 April 2019.

276 For a comprehensive history of the RIAM, and the cultural context of this institution, see Charles Acton & Richard Pine. *To Talent Alone: The Royal Irish Academy of Music, 1848-1898* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1998).

experienced pedal harpist. Her tenure at the Academy was short-lived, and advertisements for harp classes have been noted only until 1872.²⁷⁷ This may indicate that there was negligible demand for harp tuition at this time. Mackey's post lay vacant until 1888, when English harpist Priscilla Frost was appointed into the role.²⁷⁸ Despite Frost's high profile as a pedal harpist, which would have benefited from her association with Aptommas, records held at the RIAM reveal that no students registered for harp lessons during her tenure at the institution.²⁷⁹

Table 3.5 details the harpists who taught at the RIAM between 1871 and 1900 and the number of students who enrolled for lessons. The statistics paint a stark reality, that the RIAM, which was Ireland's foremost music facility, had little influence on pedal harp pedagogy between 1850 and 1900. The maximum number of students enrolled in any one term was four under the tutelage of Josephine Sullivan between 1890 and 1892. RIAM records do not reveal the gender of pedal harp students, but it is likely that they were female, given that advertisements for lessons at the institution are known to have been directed at ladies during this period.²⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that Josephine Sullivan, along with her direct successors, Esther Corless and Angela O Connor, were former students of Loreto schools.²⁸¹ This illuminates the impact of Loreto institutions on the pedal harp tradition in Ireland at this time.

Table 3.5 Harp Teachers at the RIAM between 1850 and 1900

Year	Name	Number of students
1871–1873	Mrs Mackey	?
1875–1887	No harp teacher employed	N/A
1888	Priscilla Frost	0
1889	Josephine Sullivan	?
1890	Josephine Sullivan	4
1891	Josephine Sullivan	4

²⁷⁷ *IT*, 23 September 1872.

²⁷⁸ *IT*, 6 April 1889.

²⁷⁹ I acknowledge thanks to Philip Shields in the RIAM library for providing access to the RIAM annual reports in December 2016.

²⁸⁰ See, for example, advertisement in *FJ*, 23 September 1872: harp lessons listed under 'Female Pupils'.

²⁸¹ This was confirmed with archivist Áine McHugh in the Loreto Archives, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.

Year	Name	Number of students
1892	Josephine Sullivan	4
1893	Josephine Sullivan	0
1894	Esther Corless	0
1895	Angela O Connor	1
1896	Angela O Connor	1
1897	Miriam Bernard	0
1898	Norman Summerfield	1
1899	Norman Summerfield	0
1900	Annie Scarff Goodmann	0

Although the RIAM had little immediate impact on pedal harp pedagogy in Ireland, the introduction of harp classes at the institution was significant as it challenged the historic association between the pedal harp and privileged ladies who were uninhibited by the price of private harp tuition or the cost of an instrument. In recognition of the prohibitive cost of acquiring a pedal harp, the RIAM offered practice facilities on site, in recognition of the fact that affordability was a historical barrier to learning the instrument. The following advertisement, one of the first to advertise pedal harp tuition at the RIAM, refers to arrangements for practising the harp for those who do not own their own instrument.²⁸²

²⁸² *SNL*, 2 November 1871.

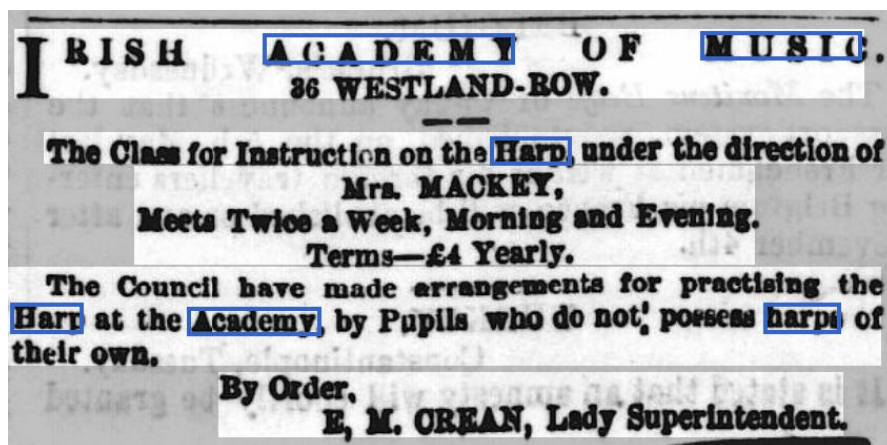


Figure 3.1 Advertisement for pedal harp tuition at the RIAM in 1871

III Trade

The demise of the Egan harp-making dynasty in the late 1840s profoundly altered the equilibrium between indigenous harp manufacture and importation, and between 1850 and 1900, those interested in buying a newly manufactured pedal harp relied, almost exclusively, on music shops importing instruments from London. In addition to importing new instruments, music shops facilitated the sale of second-hand pedal harps, rented out instruments for short-term use, stocked strings and accessories and offered support services such as transportation of instruments and tuning.²⁸³ Second-hand pedal harps also continued to feature in auctions of household furniture as they had done prior to 1850.

After 1850, although the double-action pedal harp was the standard concert instrument, there is evidence that single-action instruments were still in circulation. Unfortunately the use of nebulous language in advertisements makes it difficult to pinpoint exactly how common they actually were.²⁸⁴ In May 1850, for example, Marcus Moses listed ‘harps by Erard’ as part of his stock of musical instruments in his Dublin warerooms on Westmoreland Street and Fleet Street.²⁸⁵ Businesses in competition with Marcus Moses utilised similar language in advertising pedal harps; for example Samuel J. Piggott on Grafton Street stocked ‘harps by Erard & c’ in 1855, Henry Bussell on Westmoreland

²⁸³ See Appendix II.

²⁸⁴ Examples of single-action pedal harp sales: Mr Cramsie, the Auction Mart, Waring St, Belfast. *Northern Whig*, 17 March 1882; Auction, Castle Place Belfast. *Belfast Mercury*, 5 February 1859.

²⁸⁵ *General Advertiser for Dublin and All Ireland*, 12 March 1850.

Street stocked 'new and second hand harps' in 1867, John Bray on Westmoreland Street stocked 'harps by Erard, Egan, Bray & c' in 1869, while Moses' successor, Cramer, Wood & Co., stocked 'harps' in 1878.²⁸⁶

John B. Bray was the only Irish manufacturer of pedal harps between 1850 and 1900. Bray established a 'Harp, Pianoforte and Military Musical Instrument and Music Warehouse' at 26 Westmoreland Street in 1843.²⁸⁷ Prior to this, the premises had been occupied by the Del Vecchio family who were in the carving and gilding business in Dublin since 1797.²⁸⁸ In 1855, Bray's son entered the family firm and the business was expanded to include a premises at 6 D'Olier Street.²⁸⁹ An article on 'harp making' published in *The Pilot* in 1847 appears to suggest that Bray continued the harp-making business of Jackson; however, it is not known whether or not he had a familial link to the Egan-Jackson dynasty.²⁹⁰ It is possible that Bray was an employee of Jackson and perhaps even of Egan. That his foreman was Joseph Hewson of 19 South King Street intimates a link with Francis Hewson, a nephew of Egan, of the same address.²⁹¹

No surviving Bray pedal harp has been traced in Ireland suggests which that the rate of production was low. Of the few advertisements for original instruments that have been traced, it appears that at any one time, only a single instrument was available to purchase. An advertisement in the *Dublin Evening Packet* in 1847 detailed the recent completion of one double-action pedal harp, and it is possible that this was Bray's first marketable instrument. The advertisement stated that the 'elegantly finished and sweet toned double action harp in satin wood and gold' would be on display at the Dublin Society House on Kildare Street and carried a price tag of fifty guineas.²⁹² A short time later, Bray was

286 Harps by Erard & c' for sale at S.J. Piggott, Pianoforte, Harp and Music Warehouse. 112 Grafton Street. *DDE*, 18 August 1855. 'Harps for sale, new and second hand' at Bussell's, Westmoreland Street. *Dublin Evening Mail*, 25 June 1867. 'Harps at Bray & Sons by Egan, Erard, Bray & c, new and second hand'. John B. Bray, 26 Westmoreland Street. *DEP*, 2 January 1869. Cramer, Wood & Co. Pianoforte, harp and harmonium warehouse, 4 & 5 Westmoreland Street stocked 'harps'. *IT*, 30 May 1878. Note that Cramer succeeded Marcus Moses in 1869. See Brian Boydell. 'Cramer, Wood & Co.' in *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/89>, accessed 10 January 2020.

287 *WDWM*, 22 July 1843 'New Harp, Pianoforte and Military Musical Instrument and Music Warehouse.'
288 Desmond Fitzgerald. *Irish Furniture: Woodwork and Carving in Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Act of Union* (London: Yale University, 2007), 292.

289 'He has now taken his son into partnership.' *Armagh Guardian*, 16 February 1855.

290 'Mr Jackson succeeded Mr Egan. He carried on the business for some years with diminishing success. Mr Bray, of Westmoreland Street, has now taken up the manufacture'. *The Pilot*, 1 December 1847.

291 Hewson died on 18 January 1861 at 19 South King Street. 'On the 18th instant, in 19, South King Street, of bronchitis, Joseph Hewson, the trustworthy foreman of John B. Bray, 26, Westmoreland Street, for whom, for his faithful services, he is deeply regretted'. *DEP*, 22 January 1861.

292 *DEP*, 10 July 1847.

awarded a large silver medal for the instrument at the at the Royal Dublin Society Exhibition of Manufacturers.²⁹³ In 1850, Bray again exhibited a single instrument of his own creation at the Royal Dublin Society House. Despite a clear description that this was as a double-action pedal harp in ultramarine and gold, the *Warder and Dublin Weekly Mail* erroneously referred to it as ‘a beautiful specimen of our national instrument’.²⁹⁴ In 1853, Bray was awarded another large silver medal for his workmanship, this time at the Great Industrial Exhibition at which harps by Érard were also exhibited by Marcus Moses.²⁹⁵ *Saunders’ Newsletter* made reference to ‘a variety of double-action harps exhibited by Mr J Bray’, describing them as ‘highly commendable specimens of native manufacture’.²⁹⁶ In *The Exhibition Expositor*, Bray’s pedal harps were given special attention on the basis that they were manufactured locally.

[The harps] on the gallery exhibited by J. Bray, demand special notice at our hands, inasmuch as they were manufactured on the premises of the exhibitor in Westmoreland Street. One of these is a Double-Action harp in ultramarine and gold, 6 1/2 octaves, with all the modern improvements; and the other is in Bird-eye Maple, 6 octaves, Gothic pattern. Mr. Bray also contributed a beautiful specimen of Irish manufacture in this department to the last Triennial Exhibition of the Royal Dublin Society and a further specimen has been sent by him to the New York Exhibition.²⁹⁷

After 1853, there is no evidence that Bray continued to manufacture pedal harps, although he is known to have stocked pedal harps, including single- and double-action instruments manufactured by Érard, until his retirement from business in 1870.²⁹⁸ It is likely that Bray, being involved in the importation of a variety of musical instruments for almost thirty years, reacted to consumer sentiment in halting the manufacturing element to this business. The construction of a pedal harp to a marketable standard was a time-consuming process that was only justified by strong market demand; the fact that so few instrument makers were interested in pursuing the craft of harp making in Ireland after 1850 indicates that the demand for bespoke instruments had faltered significantly. The pedal harp was no longer the novelty instrument it had been in the early part of the nineteenth century,

293 *DEP*, 29 July 1847.

294 *WDWM*, 20 July 1850.

295 Directly below description of Bray harps in *SNL*: ‘The harps of Messrs S and P Erard were also very beautiful, and claim a considerable share of the visitors’ attention. They are exhibited by Marcus Moses of Westmoreland Street’. *SNL*, 2 July 1853.

296 *SNL*, 2 July 1853.

297 This excerpt is quoted by Boydell in *DMT*. See Brian Boydell. ‘Bray, J. *DMT* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/search/node/bray>, accessed 2 January 2018. Boydell gives dates as ‘before 1853 to 1870’. Newspaper archives confirm business establishment in 1843. See advertisement in *Dublin Weekly Nation*, 17 June 1843. ‘John Bray most respectfully informs the Nobility, Gentry, his Friends and the public, that he has taken the establishment of Mr. del Vecchio, no. 26, Westmoreland Street.’

298 Bray held an extensive sale of stock in March 1870 upon his retirement from business in 1870. Harps for sale were ‘double and single-action, portable, Irish and other harps’. *IT*, 24 March 1870.

and, given the passage of time since the invention of the double-action instrument in 1810, second-hand instruments were readily available.

Whether single- or double-action, Érard pedal harps, both new and recycled, dominated the Irish market between 1850 and 1900. Advertisements for ‘wanted’ instruments show that that Érard harps were also the most sought after.²⁹⁹ The popularity of Érard instruments in Ireland was by no means a new phenomenon, and in Chapter 2, it was noted that French pedal harpist Madame Dupré imported Érard instruments to Ireland as early as 1802. What changed in the period 1850-1900 was that the indigenous manufacture of pedal harps in Ireland was no longer a competitive business, allowing Érard instruments to come to the fore as the market leader. The sale of Érard pedal harps may also have been bolstered by various other phenomena, including the fact that they were promoted by two of Ireland’s leading pedal harpists, Mary Jane and Emilie Glover, and were the instrument of choice in Loreto schools.³⁰⁰

The cost of acquiring a pedal harp in the period 1850-1900 varied considerably, and as many sellers opted against publicising an instrument’s price, it is difficult to gauge the average price of a new or second-hand instrument at any particular time. A variety of factors would have affected the cost of a pedal harp; for example, harps that were elaborately decorated and gilded would have commanded high price tags as would harps that had been regularly tuned, serviced and re-strung. Given that a proportion of pedal harps were seldom played, there were presumably wide fluctuations in the quality of instruments in circulation, and many instruments may have been in a considerable state of disrepair. Pedal harps were often advertised at ‘a bargain’ or ‘exceedingly low prices’, and in some instances, it even appears that the price was up for negotiation.³⁰¹ In 1882, J. Crutchett and Sons placed an advertisement for an ‘Erard double-action harp newly gilt

299 Wanted Double-action Erard harp. £25 will be given, must be in good order.’ May & Sons, Pianoforte and Music sellers, 130 St. Stephen’s Green, Dublin. *FJ*, 17 September 1887. Wanted ‘double-action pedal harp by Erard or some maker’. *IT*, 19 Jan 1891. Wanted ‘Erard harp required for tuitions in private college. If in good order, fair price will be given’. *DDE*, 6 February 1888.

300 Appendix III provides evidence of the repertoire performed by Irish pedal harpists, including works by Oberthür and John Thomas that would have called for a double-action instrument.

301 Érard double-action harp at a ‘considerably reduced price’ available at John B. Bray, 26 Westmoreland Street. See *Dublin Weekly Nation*, 18 May 1850; An Erard double-action harp of recent date for ‘a bargain’ at John B. Bray, 26 Westmoreland Street. See *SNL*, 21 Dec 1857; Harps at ‘exceedingly low prices’ at John B. Bray, 26 Westmoreland Street. See *DEP*, 2 January 1869; ‘A first class Erard pedal harp, double action’ for ‘a great bargain to a prompt purchaser at Alex Mackintosh & Co. 13 Rutland Square. See *IT*, 23 March 1883; ‘Erat Gothic harp, perfect tone in white and gold’ for ‘a bargain’. Private sale, 111 St. Stephen’s Green. See *DDE*, 4 May 1889.

&c and in very good order' in the *Irish Times*, stating that 'no fair offer' would be refused.³⁰²

From the limited data collated from newspaper advertisements, it appears that a consumer could expect to pay in the region of £60 to £120 for a new double-action pedal harp and that a second-instrument could be purchased for as little as £8.³⁰³ In general, second-hand instruments could be acquired at a fraction of the cost of new instruments, although some exceptions have been noted; for example, a second-hand double-action harp by Egan was listed at an auction in Armagh in 1850 for £100.³⁰⁴ In the ensuing decades, Egan instruments devalued considerably, and Egan double-action pedal harps are noted to have been advertised for as little as £12.³⁰⁵ In 1872 and 1873, S. Bartley had extensive sales of musical instruments at his Piano Warerooms on Lower Gardiner Street, and advertisements in the *Irish Times* detailed both the original price and sale price of individual instruments. These advertisements offer some insight into the value of pedal harps midway through the period 1850-1900. The pedal harps on sale are summarised in Table 3.6.³⁰⁶

Table 3.6 Pedal harps for sale in S. Bartley's Piano Warerooms

Type of instrument	Original Price	Sale Price
Double-action Érard	£120	£25
Double-action Egan	£86	£12
Double-action Clementi	£80	£15
Double-action Souret	£80	£12

302 J Crutchett & Sons, Piano Warerooms, 29 Grafton Street. *IT*, 15 May 1882.

303 Double-action harp for £8 and Double-action Egan for £12 May's, 130 Stephen's Green. *IT*, 1 June 1880.

304 Double-action Egan harp in auction of household items of W.G. Irwin, Mount Irwin, Armagh. Listed among contents of drawing room. Thirty years later, 'a splendid double-action harp by Egan' for £12.. Private sale. *IT*, 1 June 1880.

305 A splendid double-action harp by Egan for £12. May's, 130 St. Stephen's Green. *IT*, 1st June 1880. Double-action Egan for £15 at Bartley's Great Sale. *IT*, 2 November 1872. Double-action Egan at Bartley's third great periodic sale. *IT*, 15 May 1873.

306 First four instruments in table taken from advertisement for S. Bartley's Pianoforte Warerooms, Great Sale of Pianos, Harps, Harmoniums. *IT*, 2 November 1872. Last three taken from advertisement for 'Third great periodical sale of second-hand pianos, harps, harmoniums, church and drawing room organs'. *IT*, 15 May 1873.

Double-action Egan	£70	£14
Double-action Clementi	£60	£10
Single-action Egan	£50	£10

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the pedal harp tradition was centred in Ireland's three major urban centres, namely Dublin, Cork and Belfast and this is reflected in the activity of the pedal harp trade. The extent to which the tradition was practised in smaller towns such as Waterford and Wexford in the South-East and Derry and Armagh and in the North-East is unknown; however, advertisements for the sale of pedal harps in the period 1850-1900 provide evidence that instruments were sporadically advertised for sale in these areas.³⁰⁷ To date, no evidence of a pedal harp trade has been traced in the West of Ireland.

While the sale and supply of pedal harps indicate an undercurrent of amateur interest in the tradition in Ireland, the instruments themselves represent only one aspect of the pedal harp trade. It is reasonable to surmise that, in addition to the availability of suitable instruments, the endurance of an active pedal harp tradition in Ireland in the period 1850-1900 was also contingent on the availability of sheet music and pedagogical materials. Advertisements for the sale and supply of pedal harps indicate that sheet music was available to purchase at music shops where the sale of pedal harps was facilitated; however, specific publications were generally not listed, making it impossible to elicit market trends in terms of the published materials that were procured, stocked and subsequently circulated.³⁰⁸ A notable exception in this regard is the availability of 'the latest works of Gerhard Taylor' by Marcus Moses on Westmoreland Street in Dublin in the 1860s.³⁰⁹ It is worth noting, however, that Taylor's works were published by Marcus

307 Double-action harp for sale. Pianoforte and Music Saloon, The Mall Waterford. *Waterford Chronicle*, 15 October 1859. Pedal harp for sale at auction at Dr. Cary's late residence, Pump Street, Derry. *Londonderry Standard*, 28 November 1861. Auction of Egan double-action in Armagh. *Armagh Guardian*, 7 October 1850. 'To be sold, a bargain, a very handsome harp by "Erard", in perfect order, with stool and music stand to match. Cost only a short time ago 120 guineas, and will now be sold for £40' in New Ross. *Wexford Independent*, 8 Feb 1871.

308 Advertisements tended to be vague with respect to individual publications. For example, an advertisement for Henry Bussell's music business on Westmoreland Street in 1875 states: 'New importations. Pianofortes, harmoniums, harps, music & c.'. See *IT*, 27 January 1875.

309 See, for example, advertisement for Taylor's teaching in *SNL*, 4 March 1861.

Moses, and as such were a rarity in the corpus of pedal harp repertoire disseminated in Ireland at the time.³¹⁰

3.4 Concluding remarks

Between 1850 and 1900, the pedal harp tradition maintained an active presence in Irish concert life. Foreign pedal harpists energised the performance circuit and impressed Irish audiences with new sounds and virtuosic effects. In their capacity as teachers, they introduced the latest techniques and pedagogical methods to Irish students. In the absence of foreign virtuosi, Irish pedal harpists integrated into the fabric of urban concert life by habitually performing in public concerts and collaborating with other musicians. As soloists, accompanists and chamber musicians, pedal harpists had the versatility to adapt to a variety of performance contexts. However, despite the integration of the pedal harp tradition into urban art-music culture, the pedal harp was routinely, and mistakenly, conceived as a native Irish instrument. That arrangements of Irish airs were regularly performed on the pedal harp, by Irish and foreign harpists alike, may have fostered this misconception. The role of the pedal harp in the transmission of Irish airs will be further explored in Chapter 5.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the endurance of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland was underpinned by a reactive music trade. The genesis of Ireland's pedal harp trade can be traced to the 1790s, and advertisements for the sale of pedal harps have been noted throughout the nineteenth century. The manufacture of pedal harps in Ireland ceased in the 1870s; however, music shops continued to import instruments, ostensibly in response to market demand. Second-hand instruments were widely in circulation and could be purchased at a fraction of the cost of new instruments. At Irish household auctions, pedal harps were regularly lotted with items of drawing-room furniture. A proportion of these instruments may have been acquired for aesthetic purposes; however, there are sufficient grounds to extrapolate the existence of a dynamic amateur tradition of pedal harp performance.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, convent schools dominated the sphere of pedal harp pedagogy, and this helped to proliferate a female gender stereotype in the Irish pedal harp community. A strong culture of pedal harp tuition in convent schools ultimately

310 This is based on findings from repertoire collections and is discussed in Chapter 5.

paved the way for a much more self-sufficient pedal harp tradition in Ireland that was less reliant on the input of foreign virtuosi. In the 1890s, the traffic of foreign virtuosi to Ireland noticeably tapered as a new generation of Irish pedal harpists was educated and funnelled through convent schools. Former Loreto student Josephine Sullivan was the embodiment of this generation of harpists and is reported to have performed to great acclaim in the United States in the early 1900s.

Chapter 4 focuses on the life, career and repertoire of Irish pedal harpist Boleyne Reeves (1820-1905). Reeves, who emigrated to London at the age of eleven to pursue his harp studies, was the most successful Irish pedal harpist of the nineteenth century. Unlike the Glover sister, Owen Lloyd and Irish pedal harpists who were active prior to 1850, Reeves carved out a tangible and successful career in the environs of London between c.1844 and 1881 and composed a considerable catalogue of repertoire for the pedal harp.

Chapter 4: Boleyne Reeves (1820–1905)

It is the unequal lot of some men of outstanding merit either to outlive their reputation or to be denied a posthumous recognition. Both these inequalities seem to have befallen the subject of this memoir, who richly deserved a kindlier fate.¹

4.1 Introduction

Boleyne Reeves, born in Cork in 1820, was a critically acclaimed performer, composer and author, and the most successful Irish pedal harpist of the nineteenth century. This chapter investigates Reeves' life and career and considers his contribution to the canon of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire. The name 'Boleyne Reeves' was first encountered in 2015 during the course of a cataloguing project undertaken at the Royal Irish Academy of Music. In the Louisa Cane Collection, three items are attributed to Reeves, including two Irish melodies arranged for the harp.² An exploration of the life, career and compositional output of Boleyne Reeves was conducted on the basis that these arrangements signposted a possible connection to Ireland.³

Reverend John B. McGovern, a Cork historian, is the only person known to have written a biographical account of Reeves' life. McGovern's essay, entitled 'Boleyne Reeves. Harpist and Poet: A Forgotten Cork Worthy', was published in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* (JCHAS) in 1909, four years after Reeves' death. Rev. McGovern was bewildered by the fragility of Reeves' posthumous legacy and thought it incongruous that the Cork harpist's life and career had not attracted greater attention. His personal interest in Reeves had been piqued upon reading a short monograph by the composer Ralph Thomas, written in an English publication, entitled 'Notes and Queries', the previous year.⁴ It is not known how Thomas was connected to Reeves; however, pencil markings on Reeves' compositions in the British Library, which

1 John B. McGovern, 'Boleyne Reeves. Harpist and Poet. A Forgotten Cork Worthy.' *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* vol. 15, 1909, 157–163.

2 'Kathleen O'More' and 'Kate Kearney' are part of a set of six fantasies arranged by Reeves for harp. The six fantasies are listed on the title page of each of these pieces as follows: 'The Krakoviak', 'Rory O'More', 'Kate Kearney', 'The Banks of the Allan Water', 'Kathleen O'More' and 'The Lass O' Cowrie'.

3 Although signposting a connection to Ireland, it should be noted that a vast number of instrumentalists and composers arranged popular Irish airs for a variety of instruments in the nineteenth century on account of the widespread popularity of Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies*.

4 *Notes and Queries*, still in publication, is a long-running quarterly scholarly journal that publishes short articles related to English language and literature, lexicography, history and scholarly antiquarianism. Ralph Thomas' article on Reeves was published in the first issue of 1908. See Ralph Thomas. 'Boleyne Reeves.' *Notes and Queries* 10S. IX, 241-242.

Thomas signed and dated, are evidence that he examined Reeves' repertoire in 1907, two years after the harpist's death.⁵ A sample of these pencil markings is copied below.

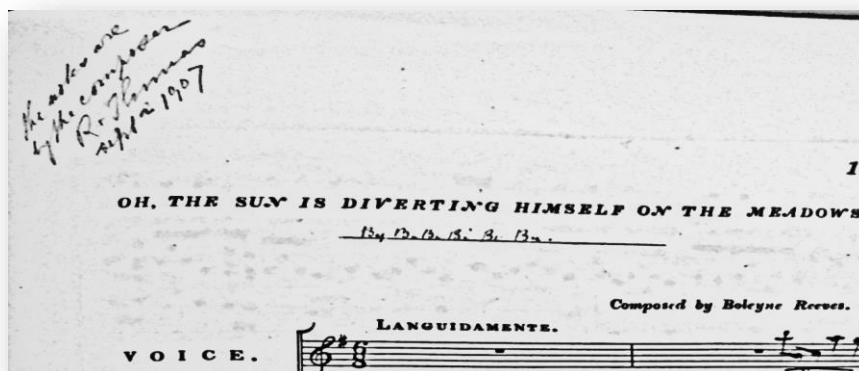


Figure 4.1 Sample of pencil markings by Ralph Thomas on Reeves' song 'Oh the sun is diverting himself on the meadows'

4.2 'A born musician':⁶ Early years in Cork

Through newspaper archives, it has been possible to both corroborate and enrich McGovern's research, to trace the trajectory of Reeves' career as a performer and composer, and to gain a deeper insight into his personal and professional relationships. Born 'Peter Bullen Reeves' on 25 February 1820, 'Boleyne Reeves' was an assumed name that was adopted in later years for professional purposes.⁷ Reeves had two older siblings; a sister, Maria Frances, born in 1811, and a brother, Edmond, born in 1815.⁸ His

⁵ Transcription of pencil making 'The notes are by the composer R. Thomas, Sept 1907'. Photograph taken, with permission, in British Library London. 'Oh the sun is diverting himself from the meadows' is an original song by Reeves arranged for voice and piano. There are two editions in the British Library. The first was published by John Reid in 1848, the second by R. Addison & Co. in 1849. Note that McGovern said 'We owe it to the interest and activity of Mr Thomas [...] that the musical the musical library of the National Library is now enriched by the possession of thirty-six out of some forty of his published compositions'. See McGovern, 161.

⁶ McGovern, 158.

⁷ 'The name of Boleyne was taken by a friend's advice as being more suitable for his musical profession.' McGovern, 160. Irish musicians also noted to have adopted new names for this purpose included William Rooke, formerly William O'Rorke (1794-1847) and R.M. Levey, formerly Richard O'Shaughnessy (1811-1899).

⁸ Birth records of Maria Frances and Edmond obtained in 'Ireland, Catholic Parish Registers, 1655-1915,' www.ancestry.co.uk, accessed 10 January 2019. Edmund's burial was recorded on 9 November 1846 in 'London, England, Church of England Deaths and Burials' www.ancestry.co.uk, accessed 10 January 2019. McGovern states that Edmond was an artist, who exhibited at the Royal Academy and at the Royal Hibernian Academy. McGovern, 160.

father, who was also called Peter, was involved in the paper-manufacturing business in Dripsey in North Cork.⁹

It is open to conjecture where Reeves received his early music instruction. McGovern quoted Ralph Thomas in describing Reeves as ‘a born musician’ who enjoyed playing his sister’s harp as a young boy.¹⁰ Wealth was a *sine qua non* to owning a pedal harp in the early part of the nineteenth century, making it likely that the Reeves family had disposable income and could afford to employ a private tutor at home. In the 1820s, there was limited access to pedal harp tuition in Cork, and the tradition had not yet developed to any significant degree. A review of local newspapers published at the time reveals only sporadic incidences of what could be denoted as ‘pedal harp activity’ – that is, activity pertaining to performance, teaching or trade. Mr Connell was one of the first pedal harpists to perform in Cork in 1823 when he featured at two concerts in the Assembly Rooms on George’s Street.¹¹ Connell is noted to have returned to Cork in 1830 to teach, although an advertisement in the *Southern Reporter* suggests that this was only for a short period of time.¹² In 1825, a lady named Mrs Forde advertised her availability to teach harp and pianoforte at her residence, 39 Grand Parade. As was common practice at the time, she also offered to teach at her pupils’ homes.¹³ In 1828 and 1829, Eliza Ashe, from the distinguished Dublin-based Ashe family of musicians, performed on the pedal harp at various concerts in Kinsale, Youghal and Cork city; however, there is no evidence that Ashe taught pedal harp during her visits.¹⁴

Infrequent performances on the pedal harp and limited access to tuition were impediments to the popularisation of the pedal harp tradition in Cork in the 1820s. A scarcity of newspaper advertisements for the sale of instruments also points to a underdeveloped

9 Notice of insolvency in Dublin Evening Post, 8 May 1832. ‘John Sidley Duggan of Meyier Street, Cork, trading solely as a commercial agent, and trading in paper and rags with Peter Reeves, under the firm of J.S. Duggan and Co.’ Mrs Reeves’ death notice in Cork Examiner. 17 November 1845. ‘At Loughrea, Mary, wife of Peter Reeve, Esq., of the National Bank of Ireland, and formerly proprietor of the paper mills at Dripsey, Cork.’

9 McGovern, 160.

10 McGovern, 160.

11 Mr Keays’ concert on 29 April 1823. Reeves performed a piano and harp duet with Mr Stevens by Weippert and a ‘Fantasia’ by Bochsa. *SRCCC*, 24 April 1823. Mr Oury’s concert on 7 October 1823. Reeves accompanied Mr Keays for ‘Aurora’ from ‘La Donna del Lago’ and performed a Fantasia by Bochsa. *SRCCC*, 4 October 1823.

12 *SRCCC*, 21 August 1830. Note ‘during his stay here’ which implies he was in Cork on a temporary basis. Enquiries to be made from Mr Bowden’s Musical Warehouse, 9 South Mall, Cork.

13 *SRCCC*, 19 March 1825.

14 See Chapter 2 and Appendix III.

tradition in comparison to Dublin. With no indigenous manufacture of pedal harps in Cork, music shops imported instruments, presumably in response to demand. In 1823, auctioneer John McDonnell pointed out the exclusivity of ‘an elegant pedal harp’ he had in stock at his premises on Patrick’s Street, by describing it as ‘an article that cannot be procured every day.’¹⁵ Robert Bowden, a violinist who ran one of Cork’s principal music shops at 9 South Mall, may have been the only Cork music merchant who sold pedal harps in the 1820s.¹⁶ In 1826, he advertised the sale of a double-action pedal harp by English company Schweiso & Grosjean, priced at seventy guineas, and a single-action harp by Érard, priced at thirty-four guineas.¹⁷ Bowden is also noted to have stocked sheet music for the pedal harp, confirmed in an advertisement in the *Southern Reporter* in 1828.¹⁸ In the vicinity of Bowden, Lucy Gillespie and Son also stocked pedal harp music and harp strings in 1829.¹⁹

In advance of relocating to England in August 1831, Reeves performed publicly on at least two occasions in Cork city. The first concert at which he featured was a benefit for Mr Daly at the Theatre Royal in Cork in May 1829.²⁰ That Reeves performed on the pedal harp, as opposed to an Irish harp, was noted in an advertisement in the *Cork Constitution* in which it was stated that the concert would include the performance of ‘airs on the pedal harp, by a musical prodigy, only 9 years old’.²¹ A review of this concert in *Cork Constitution* was extolling of Reeves’ performance, although it erroneously claimed that he was twelve years of age.

His [Mr Daly’s] benefit introduced to us a young Gentleman of this City, (Master Reeves,) who, though only twelve years old, performed upon the harp with the skill and taste of a master. He

15 *SRCCC*, 18 Dec 1823.

16 Note that John Gillespie, a music shop owner at 88 Grand Parade, advertised ‘pianofortes, harps & c’ for hire, although there is no further information provided on the type of harps he owned. See Appendix II. Robert Bowden was active as a violinist in Dublin before settling in Cork in 1806. He was one of Cork’s foremost professional musicians in the next forty years. See O’Regan, 75. Newspaper advertisements suggest that Bowden established a music shop at 9 South Mall Cork in c.1825. See, for example, advertisement for ‘Pianoforte, Music and Musical Instrument Warehouse’ in *SRCCC*, 17 March 1825. A petition for insolvency for Mr Bowden’s business was filed in 1850. See *Bankrupt & Insolvent Calendar*, 1 April 1850.

17 *SRCCC*, 16 December 1826. Schwieso & Grosjean was one of six pedal harp makers active in London in 1821. See Mike Baldwin. ‘The Erat Harp Manufactory: Painted and Gilded Decoration 1821-1826.’ *The Galpin Society Journal* 66 (2013): 149-254. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44083115>, accessed 11 November, 2019.

18 ‘Reminiscences of Scotland’ by Bochsa. *SRCCC*, 13 December 1828.

19 ‘Roman, English harp & violin strings, &c’ and Weber’s Waltz arranged for the harp by Bochsa. *CC*, 15 December 1829.

²⁰ See Appendix III.

21 Exact quote is ‘Airs to be performed on the pedal harp, by a musical prodigy, only 9 years old’. *CC*, 5 May 1829.

displayed science of the very first order, and his execution showed a power and mastery over the instrument not frequently met in persons who have devoted their entire attention to the study. His early practical knowledge, and seeming sensibility to all that is delicate and touching in the charming art he cultivates, bid fair to procure him eminence in the musical world.²²

In November 1830, at the age of ten, Reeves performed again at the Theatre Royal, at a concert organised by Mr Forde. Forde was a flautist and impresario who, at the time, was a dynamic figure in the concert life of Cork.²³ Reeves performed two pieces at the concert; a fantasia by Labarre on 'My Lodging is on the Cold Ground' and an arrangement of the popular Irish air 'St. Patrick's Day'.²⁴ A review in the *Southern Reporter* prophesied a promising career for Reeves in the future, stating: 'Master Reeves' performance on the Harp gives the happiest promise of future excellence'.²⁵

With pedal harp activity in Cork at an almost negligible level, and no experienced pedagogue in the vicinity, Reeves emigrated to England in 1831, at the age of eleven years old. This was, as reported in the *Cork Constitution*, to 'perfect himself under the most able masters'.²⁶ His departure from Cork stirred a poignant reaction from a local poet, William Newenham Nash, who composed two poems in tribute to the young harpist. Entitled 'To A Young Harper' and 'Farewell Stanzas to P.R.', these poems were ultimately included in Nash's poetry anthology 'Fugitive Poems', published in Cork in 1832.²⁷ Prior to this, they were submitted anonymously, and separately, to the *Cork Constitution* and *Southern Reporter*, and in both instances, accompanied by words that elucidated their connection to Reeves. For example, 'To a Young Harper', published in the *Cork Constitution* in April 1831, was annotated as follows:

These lines, it will be immediately perceived, are addressed to a young gentleman, Mr Peter Reeves, whose exquisite performances on the Harp have been so generally admired and applauded in the first Circles in this County and City. He is yet very young, although a Professor and should his success be equal to his merits, he is likely to reap a rich reward from the labours of his minstrelsy.²⁸

22 *SRCCC*, 12 May 1829.

23 William Forde (1795-1850) was born in Cork. He studied flute with James Gillespie before moving to London in 1818. Forde resettled in Cork in the late 1820s and was an influential figure in the concert life of Cork until his death. See O'Regan, 127-136.

24 *CC*, 11 November 1830. It is possible, albeit speculative, that Labarre taught Reeves, given that the French harpist taught during his eight-week visit to Ireland in 1828-1829. Reeves could also have been influenced by Eliza Ashe, who would have been known to Labarre during his time in Dublin, although, as stated, Ashe is not noted to have advertised teaching in Cork. Ashe is also noted to have performed a 'Fantasia' by Labarre in Cork in September 1829 at a concert at the Imperial Hotel and a Fantasia by Labarre at the Assembly Rooms in Youghal in September 1829. See Appendix III.

25 *SRCCC*, 13 November 1830.

26 *CC*, 4 August 1831.

27 A copy of 'Fugitive Poems; by Endymion' is contained in the British Library.

28 *CC*, 28 April 1831.

4.3 Early years in London and success in Paris

Where Reeves spent his formative years in London and from whom he received music instruction remains unknown. In 1838, at the age of eighteen, Church of England records reveal that he married Margaret English Petty (c.1817-1893), a widow and daughter of a solicitor, in Marylebone, London.²⁹ Reeves' brother Edmond was witness to the ceremony. In his marriage certificate (Figure 4.2), Reeves entered his full name as 'Peter Bullen Joseph Francis Reeves'. Entered under 'occupation' was 'Professor of Music', indicating that he was teaching pedal harp at this point.³⁰

1838. Marriage solemnized in All Souls Church in the Parish of Marylebone in the County of Middlesex

No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the Time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
222	19 May 1838	Peter Bullen Joseph Francis Reeves Full		Bachelor	Professor of Music	54 Bonnet Street, Parish of St. Pancras	Paul Peter Reeves	Factor
		Margaret English Petty		Widow		Parish of St. Pancras	John Shearman	Solicitor

Married in the Parish Church of All Souls according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Establishment Church by me, *J. Chandler*

This Marriage was solemnized between us, *Peter Bullen Joseph Francis Reeves* and *Margaret English Petty* in the Presence of us, *John Bullen* and *Edmond Reeves*

Figure 4.2 Marriage certificate dated 19 May 1838.

It has not yet been established whether Reeves performed publicly in England prior to 1844.³¹ It is likely that his performances were confined to private social events and musical *soirées* that did not come to the attention of the daily press. McGovern notes that Reeves performed in a number of distinguished houses in Paris in 1844, among them the home of Herz, the Duchess Decazes and the Countess de Merlin.³² This may have been part of what was termed his 'continental tour', referred to in the *Illustrated London News* in December 1845.³³ It is likely that the 'Herz' to whom McGovern referred was the renowned Austrian pianist Henri Herz (1803-1888), who, in addition to teaching at the

29 A copy of Reeves' marriage certificate was viewed in 'England and Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index, www.ancestry.co.uk, accessed 12 May 2020. The ceremony took place at the All Souls Anglican Church in Marylebone.

30 Taken from 'London, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns, 1754-1932.' www.ancestry.co.uk, accessed 12 February 2020.

31 A search of British newspaper archives using keywords 'pedal harp', 'Reeves', 'Boleyne' yields no results between 1832 and 1844.

32 McGovern, 159.

33 *ILN*, 6 December 1845.

Paris Conservatoire (1842-1874), was a dynamic agent in Parisian concert culture.³⁴ The Duchess Decazes and Countess de Merlin, meanwhile, were aristocratic ladies who facilitated musical *soirées* at their homes.³⁵ That Reeves was part of this performance network suggests that he made a positive impression in distinguished Parisian circles. Perhaps a measure of his success in Paris was that he was cited in fashionable French publication *Le Mode*, quoted by McGovern, as follows:

M Reeves has found immense success here. He has already been heard at the house of Herz, at Mrs. Tudor's, and in other houses renowned for their good taste. Everywhere we love Schubert's serenade, arranged by him for the harp. On their national English theme Rule Britannia, Reeves has composed charming fantasies.³⁶

4.4 Irish connections and identity

In his early career in London, Reeves collaborated with fellow Irish musicians who, like him, were active in the environs of the city. Reeves' Irish connections in London may have been facilitated by his involvement with the Irish Society, established by a group of Irish intellectuals resident in London in 1845. The purpose of Irish Society was to recognise the contribution of Irishmen, including musicians, writers, sculptors and painters, to the artistic and intellectual life of London.³⁷ Exhibitions and *soirées* at the society's headquarters, 26 Pall Mall East, were opportunities for Irish artists and musicians to socialise and interact in an environment where their cultural identity was

34 Henri Herz (1803-1888) was a virtuoso pianist and composer and was professor of piano at the Paris Conservatoire between 1842 and 1874. On visits to London in 1834 and 1836, Herz visited Ireland and performed in Dublin and Limerick. See Chapter 2.

35 In Paris, Cuban-born Mercedes Santa-Cruz y Montalvo, who became the Countess of Merlin, hosted the city's premier music salon between c.1820 and 1840, where she engaged the likes of Russian pianist Franz Liszt (1811-1886) and Italian opera composer Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868). See Claire Emilie Martin. 'The Countess of Merlin' in *Reading the Spanish American Essay: Translations of 19th and 20th Century Women's Essays* (Texas: University of Texas Press), 9-11. The Duchess of Decazes was married to Duke Élie Decazes who served as prime minister of France between 1819 and 1820. Among the renowned musicians she hosted at her salon were composer and pianist Frédéric Chopin (1810-1849) and Irish pianist John Field (1782-1837). For reference to Field, see Frederick Niecks. *Frederick Chopin as a Man and Musician* (London: Novello & Co., 1902). This book has been digitised by The Project Gutenberg and can be viewed at <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/4973/4973-h/4973-h.htm>, accessed 12 December 2018. For reference to Chopin, see Peter Willis. 'Chopin in Britain: Chopin's visits to England and Scotland in 1837 and 1848: people, places and activities.' (PhD diss., University of Durham, 2009), 155.

36 McGovern, 159. In December 1845, the *Illustrated London News* reported that Reeves was in the process of a 'continental tour'. Unfortunately, no further details were provided, and a continental tour is subject to corroboration. *ILN*, 6 Dec 1845.

37 See, for example, the *Tipperary Free Press*, 12 July 1845: 'The first annual meeting of this society, which is instituted for the promotion of social and intellectual intercourse amongst Irishmen, without distinction of rank, creed or party, who have distinguished themselves by their talents or prudence in the British metropolis, was held at the society's rooms, Suffolk Street.'

celebrated. That Reeves performed at the earliest Irish Society events suggests that he was entwined in a network of Irish intellectuals and artists in London in the infancy of his career. In 1844, for example, one year prior to the establishment of the Irish Society, Reeves provided the musical entertainment at a meeting of its founders at the Freemason's Tavern.³⁸ He also performed at the Society's inaugural dinner in 1845, alongside fellow Irish musicians George Alexander Osborne (1806-1893), William Vincent Wallace (1812-1865) and Michael William Balfe (1808-1870).³⁹ Outside of Irish Society events, Reeves collaborated with Osborne and Wallace on the wider professional circuit in London. In April 1844, both Reeves and Osborne performed at Irish soprano Catherine Hayes' concert at Érard's salon.⁴⁰ Hayes, born in Limerick in c.1818, was then in the infancy of what was ultimately a successful international operatic career.⁴¹ The *Limerick Chronicle* reported on the large crowd that assembled to witness Hayes' performance, and described the event as 'the most elegantly attended concert of the entire season'.⁴² Five years later, in 1849, Reeves performed at a concert in Exeter Hall, London, conducted by Wallace, and also featuring Hayes.⁴³ In February 1859, he and Hayes were listed among several musicians who performed at Mr Sinclair's morning concert at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.⁴⁴

38 *The Pilot*, 26 February 1845.

39 Osborne, Wallace and Balfe were three of the most distinguished musicians of the nineteenth century. Born in Limerick, Osborne studied piano with Kalkbrenner in Paris. He performed with many of the great instrumentalists and singers of his time, including Chopin and Liszt, and spent much of his professional life in London and Paris. His piano piece *La Pluie de perles* (1847) was one of the most popular piano pieces of the Victorian era. See Úna Hunt. 'Osborne, George Alexander' *EMIR*, 808-811. Wallace, from Waterford, was a composer and violinist and is perhaps best known for his opera *Maritana*, which was premiered in London in 1850 and hailed a major international success. See Jeremy Dibble. 'Wallace, [William] Vincent.' *EMIR*, 1039-1040. Balfe, who was born in Dublin, was a composer and singer, and the most famous composer of English opera in Britain in the middle of the nineteenth century. He composed 28 operas and over 250 songs. His most popular opera was *The Bohemian Girl*, premiered in London in 1843. See Basil Walsh. 'Balfe, Michael William.' *EMIR*, 45-49.

40 *Limerick Chronicle*, 27 April 1844.

41 Catherine Hayes was Ireland's first internationally renowned soprano. After studying with Antonio Soppio in Dublin, she went to Paris to study with Manuel Garcia, then subsequently moved to Milan for further coaching. She made her début at the Italian Opera in Marseille in May 1845 in Bellini's *I Puritani*. Hayes toured throughout Europe, the United States and Australia and sang for Queen Victoria in 1849. See Basil Walsh. 'Hayes, Catherine.' *EMIR*, 476.

42 *Limerick Chronicle*, 27 April 1844. Note that this article was a reprint of one that had been published in 'Galignani's Messenger' in Paris.

43 *Morning Post*, 5 June 1849.

44 Advertisement for concert in *London Evening Standard*, 5 February 1859 (concert date given as 28 February 1859). Also included in the list of musicians was soprano Anna Bishop, mistress of French pedal harpist Bochsá.

In January 1847, the Irish Society actively encouraged subscriptions to its famine relief fund, which was established to alleviate the deepening crisis in Ireland.⁴⁵ In response to this, Reeves organised a charitable recital at his residence, 5 Howland Street, London. On the evening, he was assisted by a number of musicians, one of whom was German pianist Wilhelm Kuhe (1823-1912), who had recently settled in London.⁴⁶ The *London Daily News* complimented Reeves' harp playing, stating that he 'touched the instrument with delicacy and sweetness, and exhibited taste and judgement as a solo player and accompanist'.⁴⁷ In fundraising terms, the recital was an unmitigated success, raising £32 for the famine relief fund. Within days, Reeves had posted the entire proceeds to Fr. Theobald Mathew, a well-known Catholic priest in Cork who dedicated his ministry to helping the poor and promoting temperance.⁴⁸ Reeves' letter to Fr. Mathew, in which he conveys his nostalgia for his early years in Cork, was published in the *Southern Reporter* on 10 April 1847.⁴⁹ It reads:

London, 37, Howland street, Fitzroy-square, Tuesday 6th April 184

Dear and Reverend Father – I enclose a Bank Post Brill (just received) for £32, the product of my little effort. It has, thank God, reached beyond what I had first anticipated.

Your affectionate letter was indeed a gratification to me. I thought as I read it, that I again felt your hand passing over my head and heard you invoking a blessing on me. How vividly it recalled the past, and the proud delight which I used to feel when on each Saturday evening I came to the Chapel with the flowers that my poor mother had gathered for the decoration of the Altar. That is, I believe, seventeen years ago.

How happy must it be to you to look back over these seventeen years, in which the blessing that you have realised for your fellow creatures so prominently present themselves! How glorious such destiny: to know that the Almighty has made you his agent in a great and beneficent design.

I need not say how thankful I am to you for your kind willingness to distribute this humble offering for me, nor how gratefully I esteem your anxiety to make it, for my integrity's sake, known to the public.

That you may long abide in this sacred trust, and that the moral and political regeneration of our Country may be achieved in your time, is the hope and prayer of my heart.

Believe me, ever dear and Reverend Sir,

Your grateful and affectionate,

Boleyne Reeves

45 *London Daily News*, 14 January 1847.

46 *ILN*, 27 March 1847 (date of concert 22 March 1847).

47 *London Daily News*, 23 March 1847.

48 *ILN*, 27 March 1847. 'Mr Boleyne Reeves, the accomplished harp player, gave an agreeable Soirée Musicale, on Monday, at his residence, 37 Howland Street, in aid of the distressed Irish.' Fr Theobald Mathew (1790-1856) was an Irish Catholic priest, born in Thomastown, Co. Tipperary. He became known as the 'Apostle of Temperance' for his promotion of abstinence from alcohol.

49 *SRCCC*, 10 April 1847. Also acknowledged in *The Pilot*, 16 April 1847, the *Northern Standard*, 24 April 1847, the *Tipperary Vindicator*, 14 April 1847, *DWN*, 24 April 1847, *Limerick and Clare Examiner*, 14 April 1847. Note that Fr. Mathew's reply to Reeves was included in McGovern's article. See McGovern, 161.

Newspapers throughout Ireland, including the *Limerick and Clare Examiner*, the *Northern Standard*, the *Tipperary Vindicator* and the *Dublin Weekly Nation*, published the following acknowledgement of Reeves' generous donation:

We have been requested by Fr Mathew to acknowledge, on his part, the sum of £32, from Mr Boleyn Reeves; being the proceeds of a Concert Musicale given by him in London; which sum Mr Reeves desires may be appropriated to the relief of the poor. This act of munificence reflects the highest honour on the character of Mr Reeves, who, advancing in his profession as one of the most gifted harpists of the day, does not forget the city of his birth and is not insensible to the miseries of its poor. The act does honour to him as a Christian and as a Patriot. May he have every success that he could desire – honour and prosperity.⁵⁰

Reeves' correspondence to Fr. Mathew reveals a profound connection to his Irish identity. It is confounding, therefore, that he never returned to Ireland to perform or to teach over the course of his career, which lasted until at least 1881. The timing of Reeves' success may have been a factor in his decision not to travel to Ireland. In the 1840s, reports of widespread death and disease in Ireland detracted many Irish citizens from travelling home. In addition, Reeves' mother, of whom he spoke so fondly, died in 1845, and this would have significantly diluted his familial connection to Cork.⁵¹ The Irish press reported on Reeves' early success in London; however, press interest appears to have dwindled after 1854. In 1853, a journalist in Ireland's *Catholic Telegraph* remarked that Irish audiences had not been witness to Reeves' performances, and inferred that the harp upon which he performed was an Irish instrument.

Here at home we have not had the opportunity of being his auditors, although we have heard of this eminent artist, who, in the musical circles of both Paris and London, has been achieving for himself honours of the first class, and that in connection with that noble instrument in which Ireland has so much reason to be interested, the harp.⁵²

A common thread in this thesis is that all manifestations of the harp, regardless of provenance, were inaccurately conflated under the umbrella of 'native' or 'national' instrument in the Irish press. The proliferation of this inaccuracy is unlikely to have been deliberate; in reality, it likely to have been a symptom of the potency of 'the harp' as a political, cultural and metaphorical symbol in Ireland, which, in the nineteenth century, had reached its zenith through the poetry and drawing-room songs of Thomas Moore. The *Catholic Telegraph* was not the first Irish publication to insinuate that 'the harp' upon which Reeves performed was of Irish origin. In 1845, an account of the inaugural dinner of the Irish Society in *The Pilot* stated that 'the company were delighted by the

⁵⁰ *Cork Examiner*, 12 April 1847.

⁵¹ Death notice in *Cork Examiner*, 17 November 1845.

⁵² *The Catholic Telegraph*, 14 May 1853.

performances of Mr Wallace on the piano, and Mr Reeves on the harp, the national instrument'.⁵³ English newspapers are also noted to have plagiarised this error, although it is possible that, in these instances, they were merely reprinting articles that had been prepared and submitted by an Irish Society member. For example, in 1846, a summary of the first assemblage of the Irish Society of the season was printed in London's *Morning Chronicle*. The term 'national instrument' was employed as follows:

Mr Reeve [sic], however, proved that, upon the national instrument, the harp, it was possible for even him to acquire still greater brilliancy of execution and delicacy of touch than that which he elicited the applause of a similar assembly some seven or eight months since.⁵⁴

There is no reason to believe that Reeves performed on any form of Irish harp over the course of his career. Even at the age of nine, prior to leaving Cork, he is noted to have performed on a pedal harp.⁵⁵ In 1854, a journalist in the *Dublin Weekly Nation*, bemoaned the fact that Reeves promoted the 'modern or pedal harp' instead of the 'Irish harp'. At the time, it was rare that such an explicit – and accurate – distinction between harp traditions was made in the Irish press. In this context, it is worth noting that the *Dublin Weekly Nation* was the organ of the 'Young Ireland' movement, a nationalist organisation committed to achieving Irish independence. With this in mind, it is perhaps comprehensible likely that the those writing for the publication employed writers who were perhaps more likely to be sensitive to the specific nuances of indigenous Irish instrumental traditions. The quotation reads as follows:

The most distinguished living harpist both as a player and composer is, we believe, Mr Boleyne Reeves, an Irishman... We fear, however, that Mr Reeves has won his reputation exclusively by the modern or pedal harp. We have not heard of him patronising the Irish harp, properly so called. This we greatly regret. Why does no Irishman, gifted with musical genius, adopt and make his own this beautiful and capable instrument, and do for Irish music what Moore did for Irish song?⁵⁶

4.5 Professional Collaborations

Reeves carved out a living as a performer, composer and teacher in the greater London area over the course of almost forty years. McGovern claimed that he retired from the music business in 1887. However, through newspaper archives, it has only been possible

⁵³ *The Pilot*, 16 May 1845.

⁵⁴ *Morning Chronicle*, 2 March 1846. It is likely that the Irish Society submitted this account of the assemblage to the newspaper.

⁵⁵ See Section 4.2.

⁵⁶ *DWN*, 10 June 1854.

to trace his activities in the environs of London until 1881.⁵⁷ In the period 1844-1881, Reeves participated in concerts at several prestigious music venues in London, including the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, the Queen's Concert Rooms at Hanover Square and Willis' Rooms on King Street.⁵⁸ As a pedal harpist, it was inevitable that he assumed various roles, including accompanying singers and instrumentalists, performing in a solo capacity or forming part of a chamber or orchestral group. With such versatility, he had the opportunity to interact and collaborate with many eminent musicians who were active on the London circuit, including cellist Signor Piatti (1822-1901), pianist and conductor Charles Hallé (1819-1895), clarinettist Henry Lazarus (1815-1895), pianist Arabella Goddard (1836-1922), guitarist and concertinist Giulio Regondi (1823-1906) and vocalists John Sims Reeves (1821-1900) and Helen Sherrington-Lemmens (1834-1906).⁵⁹ Swiss-born Regondi, who visited Ireland at least seven times between 1842 and 1861, was Reeves' most frequent collaborator in London, and the pair enjoyed a string of successful performances between 1853 and 1866.⁶⁰ Regondi is also known to have collaborated with other pedal harpists active in London, including Oberthür, John B. Chatterton and T.H. Wright. A tangible product of his partnership with Reeves is a duet for harp and concertina, which the duo occasionally performed.⁶¹ Published in 1860, this

57 Last concert documented was in the village of Ingatestone in Essex in 1881. A concert in the Fryerning schoolroom in aid of the Ingatestone Working Mens Institute. Review of concert in *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 25 February 1881 (concert date not specified.)

58 For example, Reeves performed at the Queen's Concert Rooms, Hanover Square with Regondi on 19 May 1859. A review of this concert was published in *Morning Advertiser*, 20 May 1859. He performed at Regondi's concert at Willis' Rooms on 9 June 1857. An advertisement for this concert was published in *The Atlas*, 6 June 1857. He performed at Mr W. Sinclair's concert on 28 February 1859. See advertisement in *London Evening Standard*, 5 February 1859.

59 Reeves, Sherrington-Lemmens and Hallé are listed in a programme for Regond's concert at the Hanover Square Rooms on 30 June 1864. See advertisement in *ILN*, 25 June 1864. Goddard, Piatti and Reeves are listed as performers in an advertisement for 'a grand vocal and instrumental morning concert' for the benefit of St Marylebone Eye Institution. See *Marylebone Mercury*, 18 June 1864. Reeves was listed as an orchestral musician at W. Sinclair's first annual concert, alongside leading clarinettist Henry Lazarus. Advertisement for concert at Theatre Royal Drury Lane (28 February 1859) in *London Evening Standard*, 5 Feb 1859.

60 Mrs Warner's mansion, 23 Grosvenor Place, Belgrave Square. Boleyn Reeves' concert, 16 June 1853. Advertisement in *Morning Post*, 13 June 1853. Hanover Square Rooms on 19 May 1859 with Regondi. Advertisement in *ILN*, 14 May 1859. Katherine Poyntz' concert at the Hanover Rooms. Review of concert 'during the past week' in *Morning Post*, 22 June 1869. Note that at Poyntz' concert, Regondi was also listed as one of instrumentalists and W.H. Cummings as one of the vocalists. Theatre Royal. Regondi's concert at Willis' Rooms on 9th Jun 1857. Advertisement in *The Atlas*, 6 June 1857. Reeves and Regondi were among the artists who performed at the Notting Hill and Bayswater Proprietary school concert, 20 April 1868. *London Evening Standard*, 23 April 1868.

61 For example, Regondi and Reeves performed the work at a benefit concert for the St Marylebone Eye Institution, held at 155 Marylebone Road on 29 June 1864. *Marylebone Mercury*, 2 July 1864.

work is a fantasia on themes from Meyerbeer's opera *L'Étoile du Nord*. A single copy has been traced to the International Harp Archives in Utah in the United States.⁶²

Upon Regondi's death in 1872, *The Musical World* reported that Reeves and Oberthür were among a select group of mourners at his funeral.⁶³ Reeves and Oberthür were in fact known to each other, having developed professional kinship through their mutual involvement in the Harp Union in London some twenty years early. The Harp Union was an alliance of professional pedal harpists that was established in London in 1852.⁶⁴ Patronised by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, it was described in the *London Daily News* as 'a society of our most eminent performers on the harp [...] with the view of cultivating that instrument and making its powers better known to the public.'⁶⁵ Instigated by English pedal harpist T.H. Wright, and also involving harpist H.J. Trust, this alliance staged a series of concerts, known as the 'Harp Matinée' series, at the premises of harp-maker Érard on Great Marlborough Street between December 1852 and July 1853.⁶⁶ At each *matinée* concert, a selection of chamber pieces was performed, involving up to four pedal harpists. On 18 January 1853, for example, the Harp Union met at Érard's on Marlborough Street and performed the following programme:

62 Contained in the International Harp Archives at Brigham Young University as part of a Collection of 'Seven Harp Manuscripts by J. Dubez'. The International Harp Archives is located in Provo, Utah, United States. Note that this work has not been traced to any other repertoire collection as part of this study, including Reeves' collection at the British Library in London.

63 *The Musical World*, 18 May 1872.

64 The Harp Union first performed at Érard's salon in December 1852. A review in *The Brighton Gazette* suggests that the harpists had only recently started collaborating together. 'The amateurs and lovers of the harp have been lately attracted to some matinées at Messrs Érard's, by the performance of some new compositions for that instrument. The formation of these *ré-unions* originated with Mr T.H. Wright, assisted by Herr Oberthur, Messrs Boleyn Reeves and H.J. Trust.'

65 *London Daily News*, 12 May 1853.

66 The last meeting of the Harp Union took place at Willis' Rooms on 5 July 1853. *Morning Advertiser* 8 June 1853. Note that Reeves dedicated his studies for harp to H.J. Trust. Trust (unknown nationality) was described as 'one of Bochsá's most distinguished pupils' in the *Morning Post* on 24 April 1845 in which his return to England was noted. He performed in Dublin at the Music Hall on Abbey Street in 1845. A programme printed in the *FJ* noted that it was his first performance in Dublin. *FJ*, 12 August 1845.

Table 4.1 Sample programme from Harp Union concert, 18 January 1853⁶⁷

Work	Performers
Herz and Bochsa's duo for two harps in Rossini's 'Donna del Lago'	Wright and Trust
Oberthür's Nocturne for three harps	Trust, Wright and Reeves
Dussek's 'Duo Concertante' in B flat	Wright and Reeves
A duo in Rossini's 'Mosé'	Wright and Reeves

Reeves was involved in the harp matinée series until April 1853, when the quartet was invited to perform for the Queen at Buckingham Palace, as reported by the *Illustrated London News*.⁶⁸ However, although Oberthür, Trust and Wright are noted to have performed in Buckingham Palace in mid-April, Reeves does not appear to have participated.⁶⁹ He was also not involved in a series of Harp Union concerts at Érard's rooms in May, June and July 1853, following which the allegiance appears to have disbanded.⁷⁰

4.6 Fraser, Parish Alvars and a friendship with Berlioz

It may be no coincidence that Reeves' absence from the final Harp Union concert series coincided with the publication of the most significant review of his career, published in *Fraser's Magazine*. The review was written by eminent music critic Edward Holmes (1799-1859) who, having received a high level of music education himself, was a

⁶⁷ *ILN*, 22 January 1853.

⁶⁸ 'The Harp Union met on Tuesday afternoon at Érard's Rooms; the executants were Messrs Oberthür, T.H. Wright, H.J. Trust and Boleyn Reeves. The same evening, they received Her Majesty's command to perform at Buckingham Palace.' *ILN*, 9 April 1853.

⁶⁹ A review of the Harp Union's performance at Buckingham palace does not name Reeves but rather the trio of Wright, Oberthür and Trust. Two works were chosen for the performance – a duet by Oberthür based on themes from Meyerbeer's 'Huguenots' (performed by Oberthür and Trust) and a 'Grand National Fantasia' for three harps, also by Oberthür, performed by Wright, Oberthür and Trust. *The Sun (London)*, 12 April 1852.

⁷⁰ This series of three concerts took place at Willis' Rooms on 10 May 1853, 7 June 1853 and 5 July 1853. See reviews in *ILN*, 14 May 1853, *Morning Advertiser*, 8 June 1853 and *ILN*, 9 July 1853.

discerning voice of nineteenth-century music journalism.⁷¹ Between 1848 and 1858, he regularly contributed articles on music to *Fraser's Magazine*, a general interest and literary journal with an enlightened and intellectual middle-class readership⁷² The circumstances in which he encountered Reeves are unknown; however, his detailed article, entitled 'New Compositions for the Harp', specifically focused on Reeves' works, suggests that he had not only been witness to Reeves' performances but also had a thorough knowledge of compositional output. Holmes was unbounded in his praise of Reeves, describing him as 'a harpist of the highest qualifications', a composer who had 'genuine sources of inspiration' and 'an ornament to that land [Ireland] of musicians.' He claimed that, as a performer, Reeves was 'conspicuous for the beauty of his tone', with a 'brilliant and neat' execution' that was 'free from every offensive noise'.⁷³ Holmes' article was a significant boost to Reeves' profile, and in the immediate aftermath of its publication, was widely referenced and quoted in the British press.⁷⁴ A writer in the *Freeman's Journal* suggested that it was rare to find an article in a 'leading periodical' dedicated to a professor of music and that Reeves was worthy of the same recognition as other eminent Irish musicians who had carved out success abroad, including Wallace, Balfe and Osborne.

In the British, and we may go further and say, the European musical circles, the honour of Ireland has been well sustained by Wallace, Balfe and Osborne. The high merits of these artistes has long been widely recognised. It would seem however that this illustrious trio is now to be expanded to a quartet. A new name has been adjudged worthy to be placed in harmony with theirs. It is that of Mr. Boleyne Reeves, whom we rejoice to claim as a countryman, and who may be considered to have taken the place left vacant on the death of Parish Alvars, and to be the master, par excellence, of the harp in this musical world.⁷⁵

71 Holmes wrote for a number of influential journals over the course of his career, including *The Atlas*, *The Spectator* and *The Musical Times*. He was described by fellow writer Leigh Hunt (1784-1859), as 'simply the best critic...this nation has ever produced'. See Leanne Langley. 'Holmes, Edward.' *Grove Music Online*, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.tudublin.idm.oclc.org/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000013241>, accessed 10 April 2019.

72 *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* was in publication for over fifty years, between 1830-1882. Founded by Hugh Fraser and William Maginn, it was ultra-Tory in politics and its slashing commentary on eminent literary figures and politicians made it one of the most talked about magazines in London. See Patrick Leary. 'Fraser's Magazine and the Literary Life, 1830-1847.' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 27, no. 2 (1994): 105-26, accessed 10 August 2018.

73 Edward Holmes. 'New Compositions for the Harp.' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country Vol. XLVII*, (London: Parker & Strand, April 1853), 396-402

74 *The Atlas*, 16 April 1853, *Westmoreland Gazette*, 16 April 1853, *Southern Reporter*, 7 April 1853, *Hull Packet*, 22 April 1853, *Manchester Times*, 20 April 1853, *Hull Advertiser and Exchange Gazette*, 22 April 1853.

75 *FJ*, 12 May 1853.

That Reeves was compared to English pedal harpist Elias Parish Alvars (1805-1849) was a significant honour. Parish Alvars, who visited Dublin briefly to perform for the Philharmonic Society in 1846, was an outstanding virtuoso, whose performances had generated widespread publicity throughout Europe. It could be argued that the *Freeman's Journal* was biased towards Reeves as an Irish citizen; however, countering this argument is the fact that Reeves was also aligned with Parish Alvars as early as 1845 in an English publication, the *Illustrated London News*, as follows:

Letters from Vienna announce that Parish Alvars, the harpist and composer, is about to return to this country, having given his farewell concert on the 16th of November, after a residence of ten years on the Continent...Mr Alvars is destined to have a rival in London in Mr Reeves, an Irishman by birth, who has been also making a continental tour advantageously to his fame. Mr Reeves is a first-rate harp performer and in some respects an innovator. He is an excellent musician and has extraordinarily executive faculty combined with profound feeling and consummate taste.⁷⁶

Parish Alvars was described by French composer Hector Berlioz (1803-1869) as 'a magician' and 'the Liszt of the harp'.⁷⁷ Having encountered Parish Alvars' skill and virtuosity, it is therefore striking that Berlioz is also said to have been impressed by Reeves' harp playing. Berlioz spent considerable periods of time in London between 1847 and 1855 and, like Reeves, was at the receiving end of the encomiums of Holmes.⁷⁸ Correspondence between Berlioz and Holmes is evidence that it was Holmes who introduced Berlioz to Reeves in 1853. A letter from Berlioz to Holmes, postmarked 30 May 1853, confirms the interconnection of the three men, and indicates that Berlioz and Reeves were due to meet for the first time on 5 June 1853.⁷⁹ Figure 4.3 is an image of this letter, copied, with permission, from the John Wilson Manuscripts UK digital archive.⁸⁰

76 *ILN*, 6 December 1845.

77 Berlioz, Hector. *Autobiography of Hector Berlioz, Member of the Institute of France, from 1803 to 1865, comprising his travels in Italy, Germany Russia and England, in two volumes, Vol. II*, trans. Rachel (Scott Russell) Holmes & Eleanor Holmes (London: Macmillan, 1884), 69 & 140.

78 In 1848, following Berlioz' debut concert at the Drury Lane theatre, Holmes wrote an article entitled 'A First Impression of the Genius of Hector Berlioz' for *The Atlas* and this was instrumental in elevating his status and popularity in London.

79 This letter was sold by John Wilson Manuscripts, Cheltenham. A copy of the manuscript is displayed online at <https://www.manuscripts.co.uk/stock/24966.HTM>, accessed 20 March 2018.

80 John Wilson Manuscripts UK are long-established dealers in autograph letters, historical documents and textual manuscripts, together with signed photographs and other related material having a close association with historical figures in all fields. See <https://www.manuscripts.co.uk/>, accessed 10 February 2018.

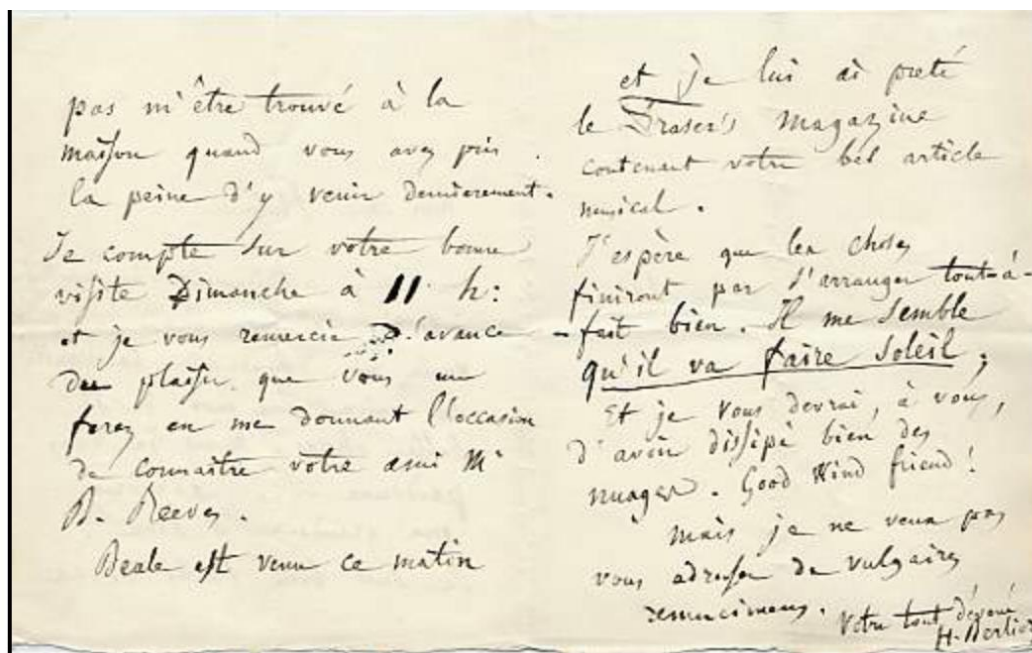


Figure 4.3 Letter from Hector Berlioz to Edmond Holmes, dated 30 May 1853.

The portion of this letter that refers to Reeves is translated from French as follows:

I am sorry that I was not at home when you took the trouble to come here yesterday. I am looking forward to your good visit on Sunday at 11 o'clock: and I thank you in advance for the pleasure of the occasion to know your friend Mr B Reeves.

Following an initial meeting orchestrated by Holmes, Reeves and Berlioz developed an independent relationship. A letter written by Berlioz to Reeves, also retrieved from the John Wilson Manuscripts UK archive (Figure 4.4), is confirmation that they were in direct communication with one another. In this letter, Berlioz apologised to Reeves for the fact that he would not hear him perform again the following evening and asked him to pass on a message to Holmes regarding one of his symphonies, *Harold en Italie*.

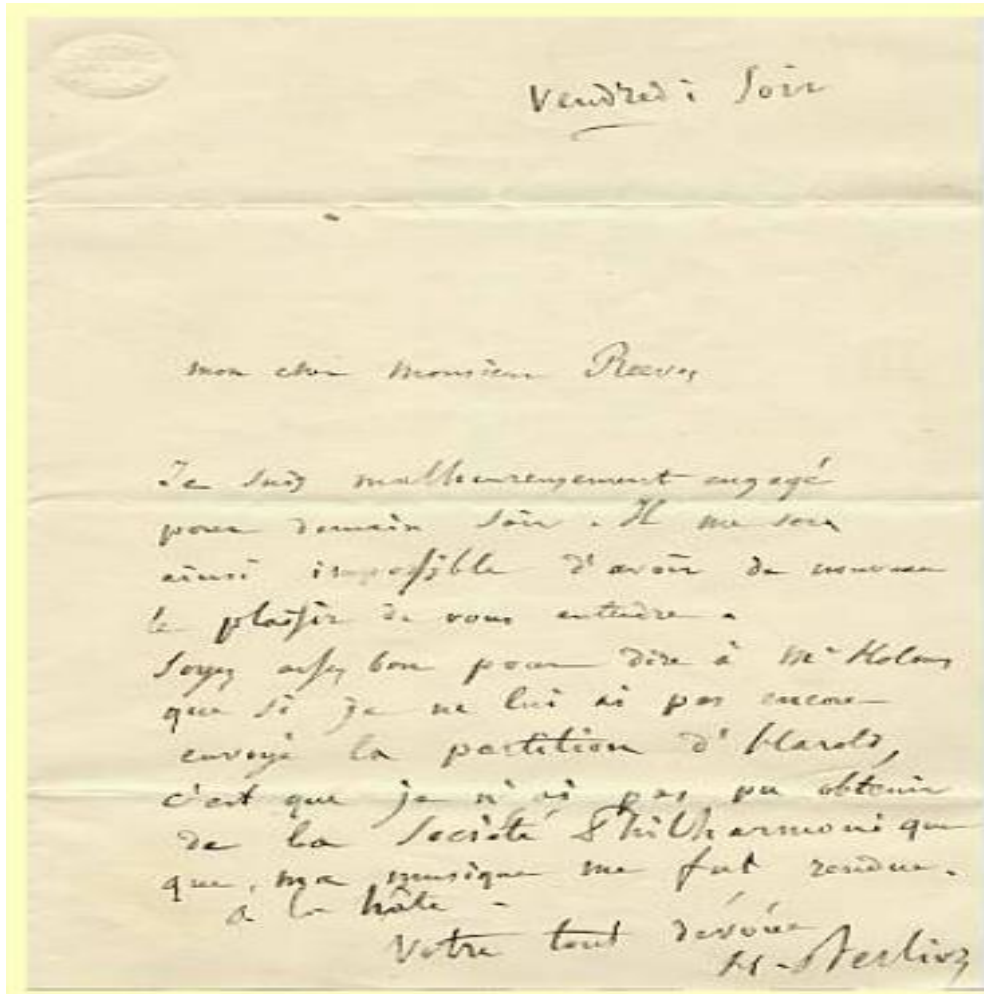


Figure 4.3. Letter from Hector Berlioz to Boleyne Reeves.⁸¹

The translation of this letter is as follows:

Friday Evening

My dear Mr Reeves

I am unfortunately engaged for tomorrow evening. It is therefore impossible for me to have the pleasure of hearing you again.

Be good enough to say to Mr Holmes that if I cannot send him the score of Harold it is because I cannot obtain it in a hurry from the Philharmonic Society.

Yours truly, H Berlioz

No further correspondence between Reeves and Berlioz has been traced; however, their relationship is corroborated by Reverend McGovern, who communicated with Reeves' widow, Grace, in the aftermath of his death. In a letter to McGovern, Mrs Reeves

⁸¹ The image of this letter has been copied with permission of John Wilson of John Wilson Manuscripts UK. See <https://www.manuscripts.co.uk/stock/24967.HTM>, accessed 9 May 2018.

described how her husband had a profound impact on two men: a sculptor, Henry Bandel, and Berlioz.⁸² Mrs Reeves corresponded with McGovern as follows:

Perhaps you could tell me if there be any Irish Society that would care to have a bust of my husband. It was the work of Henry Bandel, a sculptor of no mean merit, who died in London many years ago, really from overwork. He used to come in of an evening, throw himself into a chair and say, 'My friend, play to me,' quite unable to say more; then the pleasant tones of both friend and harp would revive him, and he would talk a little and return to his work till far into the night. Berlioz used to do the same, but with a handkerchief over his face. He was not a happy man, but the harp (and he would listen to none other but Mr. Reeves) always exorcised the spirit of melancholy.⁸³

4.7 Pedagogy and Education

It is virtually impossible to account for Reeves' influence as a pedagogue, given that much of his teaching is likely to have taken place in the private sphere. The fact that no advertisements for private harp instruction with Reeves have been traced suggests that he acquired pupils on a word-of-mouth basis. A dedication to 'his pupil Miss Campbell' in 1840 is evidence that Reeves taught pedal harp in the early days of his career, as corroborated in his first marriage certificate.⁸⁴ Two references to Reeves teaching in private schools for ladies in the London area have been recorded: the first is Blackheath and Greenwich Ladies' College (1864), while the second is a school in Notting Hill Square in London (1867).⁸⁵

Advertisements for pedal harp tuition by ladies who purported to have been taught by Reeves provide some evidence of his activity as a pedagogue in London. Such advertisements also suggest that citing Reeves' name was advantageous in terms of a teacher's ability to attract new students. Prior to 1850, this practice was noted in the Irish press, when Irish pedal harpists cited a connection to Bochsa, who was then well known to Irish audiences. In 1868, a 'lady professor of the harp' who claimed to be a pupil of Reeves advertised her availability to teach harp in the Surbiton area of south-west

82 Henry Bandel was probably the German sculptor Heinrich von Bandel. Von Bandel's father, Ernst von Bandel (1800-1876), was a renowned sculptor, best known for his design and construction of the *Hermannsdenkmal*, a monument in Detmold, Germany that commemorates the Cherusci war chief Arminius. An article in London's *The Examiner* suggests that Heinrich predeceased his father. See *The Examiner*, 14 May 1876.

83 McGovern, 161.

84 Fantasia on the Scotch air 'The Campbells are coming', dedicated to his pupil Miss Campbell. A copy of this work is contained in the British Library, London.

85 See advertisements in *Kentish Mercury*, 11 June 1864 and *Manchester Times*, 31 August 1867.

London.⁸⁶ In 1878, an unnamed lady advertising harp lessons in London's *Morning Post* referred to herself as 'a professional, a student of Mr Boleyne Reeves' and claimed to be 'thoroughly grounded in his system of harp teaching'.⁸⁷ Reeves is not known to have produced any formal teaching method; however, he is known to have composed at least two 'studies' for the harp and these may have been devised with a pedagogical purpose in mind.⁸⁸

That Reeves was interested in the history of the pedal harp and in educating others on the subject is supported by the fact that he delivered an illustrative lecture to members of the Whittington Club in London in July 1854.⁸⁹ At this event, Reeves described the history, construction and capabilities of the pedal harp, and performed appropriate musical examples to elucidate his remarks.⁹⁰ The concept of integrating performance and history was one that had been explored by his contemporary, the English harpist Frederick Chatterton (1812-1894). Chatterton had presented illustrative lectures on harp history to various clubs and societies throughout England between 1851 and 1863.⁹¹ *The Atlas* published the most detailed account of Reeves' lecture, which, the writer stated, was 'well written and presented in a clear unaffected style'.⁹² Reviews in *The Express* and *The London Daily News* were also positive, stating that Reeves 'displayed considerable powers of execution and was much applauded'.⁹³

86 'A lady professor of the harp, and a pupil of Boleyne Reeves, visiting Surbiton and its vicinity weekly, desires to increase her number of pupils. Terms moderate – Address E.F. 43 Berner's Street, Oxford Street, London'. *Surrey Comet*, 4 April 1868.

87 *Morning Post*, 1 July 1878.

88 'Studies for the Harp', published by Addison & Hollier, contained in the British Library.

89 Established in 1847, the Whittington Club challenged the stereotypical association between such gentlemen's clubs and the upper classes and middle classes. The club's membership was open to 'every man desirous of advancing himself on the social scale'. A review of one of the club's inaugural meetings in 1846 is contained in *The Sun (London)*, 10 September 1846.

90 *London Express*, 22 July 1854.

91 There is reference to a lecture on the 'History of the harp from the time of the Egyptians' at the Royal Polytechnic Institution, London (date of lecture not specified) in *The Sun (London)*, 12 May 1851; Chatterton's 'History of the Harp' musical entertainment at the Assembly Rooms, Bath on 13 April 1852. *Bath Chronicle*, 15 April 1852; Lecture entitled 'The Bards and Harps of all Nations' delivered at the Temperance Hall to the Ulverston Lecture Association on 21 November 1861. *Ulverston Mirror*, 9 November 1861; On 4 December 1863, Chatterton gave a lecture entitled 'Harp Music' to at Mrs Cook's school, Stamford Hill, London. *London City Press*, 5 December 1863.

92 *The Atlas*, 22 July 1854.

93 *The Express*, 22 July 1854; *London Daily News*, 22 July 1854.

4.8 Final years and retirement

Newspaper records indicate that Reeves was most active as a performer in the public domain in the 1840s, 50s and 60s. Only two records of his performances have been extracted from the British press in the 1870s. In June 1870, Reeves performed at Mr and Mrs Osborne Williams' concert in a residence at Walham Green, London. In *The Era* it was reported: 'Boleyne Reeves, by his exquisite performance on the harp, proved himself a thorough master of that difficult instrument'.⁹⁴ In October 1879, he performed at a fundraising concert at the Assembly Hall in St. Albans, Hertfordshire; in anticipation of the concert, a redacted form of Holmes' *Fraser's Magazine* review, written over twenty years previously, was published in the *Herts Advertiser*.⁹⁵

In February 1881, Reeves performed at a concert in the village of Ingatestone, Essex in aid of the local Working Men's Institute. An account of this event in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* is the last noted reference to him performing in public.⁹⁶ After 1881, it is possible that Reeves eschewed a career in music in favour of a career in literature.⁹⁷ A collection of his poetry, entitled *Cassiope and other Poems*, was published by Paul Keagan in London in 1890 and was favourably reviewed in the press.⁹⁸ A writer in *The Graphic*, for example, asserted that Reeves had a 'keen perception on the incongruities of life' and 'ought to be congratulated on the freshness of the work.'⁹⁹ Census records confirm that it was only in later years that Reeves considered himself a writer as well as a musician. In the 1881 England Census, he is noted to have entered his occupation as

94 *The Era*, 5 June 1870.

95 *Herts Advertiser*, 25 October 1879. Reeves performed his own 'Hommage to Schubert' and a 'National Fantasia on Irish Airs.'

96 *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 14 January 1881. In addition to playing two harp solos at the event, Reeves accompanied a singer, Miss Lawton, in two of Henry Bishop's songs, namely 'Bid me discourse' and 'Home Sweet Home'. It is possible that Reeves performed publicly after this event; however, no digital references have been sourced.

97 There is evidence that Reeves was a writer in his early career. In 1840, he was the editor of 'Colburn's Kalendar of Amusements in Town and Country.' This publication was a compendium of the 'pleasures, sports and pastimes' for each month of 1840 in the environs of London, including, for example, balls, masquerades, swimming and skating events, rowing and sailing matches, races and hunts. Colburn's Kalendar was published by Henry Colburn, Great Marlborough Street, London. Note that Reeves also edited a version of this magazine in 1841, entitled 'Sports and Pastimes in Town and Country', printed by T.H. Coe, 27 Old Change, St. Paul's, London.

98 This anthology is catalogued in a number of Irish libraries, including the NLI, TCD, Dublin City Public Library.

99 *The Graphic*, 23 August 1890.

‘Musical and Literary Author’. By contrast, in the 1861 Census, he referred to himself a ‘Professor of Music’.¹⁰⁰

Reeves was predeceased by his first wife, Margaret, in 1893. There is no record that the couple had any children.¹⁰¹ In 1901, he married Grace Laban (1841-1919), described by McGovern as ‘a friend from childhood’, and the couple settled in Wickham Bishops in Essex.¹⁰² Reeves’ second marriage was short-lived on account of his ailing years and he died at his home, ‘Longwood’, Wickham Bishops, Essex on 22 April 1905.¹⁰³ In reporting Reeves’ death, two local newspapers referred to him as ‘harpist to the late Queen Victoria’.¹⁰⁴ This is somewhat perplexing given that the position of ‘Royal Harpist’ is known to have been held by Welsh harpist John Thomas (1826-1913) until the Queen’s death in 1901.¹⁰⁵ In the *Chelmsford Chronicle*, the following notice was published under the title ‘Funeral of a Royal Harpist’:

On Wednesday the funeral took place at the Roman Catholic Church, Wittham, of Mr Peter Boleyn Reeves, who had for many years lived in retirement at Longwood, Wickham Bishops. The deceased, who was 84 years of age, was formerly harpist to the late Queen Victoria, and he came to Wickham Bishops some years ago. He was held in great esteem among his neighbours. Among the foreign tributes was a beautiful harp with the strings broken. The Rev. Fr. Jones conducted the funeral. Mr Reeves leaves a widow.¹⁰⁶

The provenance of the term ‘Royal Harpist’ in this instance may be linked to the fact that the Harp Union, of which Reeves was a member in the 1850s, was patronised by Queen Victoria and her husband Prince Albert. It is possible that Reeves performed for the Queen at private functions that were not reported in the press, thereby assuming an unofficial ‘royal’ role. Oberthür, who was official harpist to the Duchess of Nassau, is also noted to have been referred to as ‘harpist to the Queen’ upon his death, and this

100 England Censuses accessible through www.ancestry.co.uk. Boleyn Reeves was also listed as a ‘Professor of Music’ at 37 Queen Anne Street in 1856 in the ‘UK, City and County Directories, 1766–1946’, also available to view at www.ancestry.co.uk. His marriage certificate (Figure 4.2) confirms he referred to himself as ‘Professor of Music’ in 1838.

101 Death notice in *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 21 July 1893. Note that McGovern said that Reeves married his first wife at the age of eighteen and that she was ‘a lady much older than himself’; however, 1891 Census suggests that their age differential was three years. 1891 England Census accessed through www.ancestry.co.uk, 20 May 2020.

102 Grace Laban Reeves died on 8 August 1919. Information obtained from ‘England & Wales National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858-1895’, accessed through www.ancestry.co.uk, 20 May 2020.

103 Death notice in *Essex Newsman*, 29 April 1905.

104 *Essex Newsman*, 25 April 1905 & *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 28 April 1905.

105 Note that after Queen Victoria’s death in 1901, John Thomas continued as the Royal Harpist for King Edward VII. He died in 1913. See Ann Griffiths. ‘John Thomas. Pencerdd Gwalia (1826-1913)’ [Adlaimusicpublishers.co.uk](http://www.adlaimusicpublishers.co.uk) http://www.adlaimusicpublishers.co.uk/pages/harpists/john_thomas.htm, accessed 10 June 2019.

106 *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 28 April 1905.

substantiates the idea that the Queen engaged the services of a number of harpists during her reign.¹⁰⁷

With the exception of a ‘continental tour’ in 1844, Reeves remained in the environs of London for the duration of his life. By the time of his death in 1905, he had not performed in public for over twenty years and had largely disappeared from public view, having chosen to pursue his love of literature instead. No Irish newspaper reported on Reeves’ death; however, it is important that the context of this omission is carefully considered. In the first instance, Reeves emigrated from Ireland to England in 1831 at the age of eleven and lived outside Ireland for seventy-four years. Secondly, he chose an unorthodox path in retiring from the music business in the 1880s and opting to live quietly in the countryside; in doing so, he removed himself from the London performance circuit and spent almost twenty years out of public sight. This was in marked contrast to his contemporaries, including Aptommas and Oberthür, who continued to perform, and therefore generate publicity, until they were much older. Oberthür, for example, died immediately after a performance with his student in London when he was seventy-six years of age.¹⁰⁸

4.9 Repertoire

This repertoire study includes an inventory of Reeves’ compositions and an overview of his idiosyncratic style. An integral part of this section is the recording, which brings four of Reeves’ works – two solo pieces and two songs – into the public domain for the first time in over a century. In total, fifty-two individual compositions by Reeves have been identified, encompassing twenty-eight solo harp pieces and twenty-four songs. This is in excess of ‘some forty’ compositions identified by Rev. Mc Govern in 1909.¹⁰⁹ Only three public repositories were found to contain Reeves’ compositions: the Royal Irish Academy of Music Dublin (Louisa Cane Collection), the British Library and the International Harp Archives at Brigham Young University. The British Library is home to the largest extant collection of Reeves’ repertoire. Containing thirty-six individual scores, encompassing

107 *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, 12 November 1895. The exact quote is ‘The deceased was professional harpist to the Queen, and played before Royalty a short time back.’

108 After playing a duet with Miss Fortescue at a private residence in London, Oberthür complained of being ill and died shortly afterwards from heart failure. *Lake Chronicle and Reporter*, 20 November 1895.

109 McGovern, 161.

twenty solo harp pieces and sixteen songs, this collection was donated to the library in 1908 by Reeves' widow, Grace.¹¹⁰

Reeves' catalogue of compositions is significant for two reasons. Firstly, his fourteen original compositions are the sum total of original compositions for the pedal harp by an Irish composer, harpist or otherwise, over the entire course of the nineteenth century. Secondly, by Irish standards, Reeves was also a prolific composer of original songs, set to harp or pianoforte accompaniment. In composing original works for the pedal harp, Reeves was atypical in an Irish context, but also, to a certain extent, within the wider community of European harpist-composers. Nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire collections are strikingly dominated by arrangements and fantasias of popular folk and operatic airs, as opposed to compositions based on a harpist's original melodic ideas. That Reeves acted on instinctual melodic ideas sets him apart from a number of his contemporaries, among them Aptommas and Frederick Chatterton.¹¹¹

4.9.1 Inventory of compositions

For the purposes of this discussion, Reeves' repertoire has been divided into four categories, in recognition of his eclectic compositional output. These categories, outlined in Tables 4.1-4.4, are:

1. Original works for the pedal harp.¹¹²
2. Original songs with pedal harp or pianoforte accompaniment.
3. Arrangements of Irish airs / Fantasias on Irish airs.
4. Arrangements of non-Irish airs / Fantasias on non-Irish airs.

110 Contents of collection can be found in digital catalogue by searching main catalogue and inputting 'Boleyne Reeves'. In addition to thirty-eight scores, the library also contains two editions of 'Cassiope and Other Poems' and the 1840 edition of 'Colburn's Kalendar of Amusements in Town and Country', edited by Reeves.

111 Neither Aptommas nor Chatterton composed works that were not based on the popular airs of the day, including operatic airs and folk tunes.

112 Defined in the Introduction to this thesis as 'works based exclusively on the composer's own musical source material as opposed to works derived from pre-existing Irish melodies drawn from ancient collections of Irish music.'

Table 4.1 Original works for the pedal harp

Name of Work	Publication details	Location
Rondo à la Valse (also known as: Erweiterung, Response)	Addison, Hollier & Lucas, London (1845)	British Library
Dirge for a Child	R Mills & Sons, London (1845)	British Library
Marcia Solenne	R Mills, London (1860)	British Library
Concert-Stück for the Harp. Andante Cantabile.	R Mills & Sons, London (1865)	British Library (*Missing two movements)
Pastorals for the Harp No. 1 Opus 12	E Brooks, London, (n.d.)	British Library
Pastorals for the Harp No. 2	E Brooks, London, (n.d.)	British Library
Pastorals for the Harp No. 3 'Falling Leaves'	E Brooks, London (n.d.)	British Library
Pastorals for the Harp No. 4 'Village Revel'	E Brooks, London (n.d.)	British Library
Sonata Drammatica for the Harp	Addison & Hollier, London (1850)	British Library
Studies for the Harp No. 1	Addison & Hollier, London (1850)	British Library
Studies for the Harp No. 2	Addison & Hollier, London (1850)	British Library
Scherzo con Variazioni for the harp	R Mills, London (1845)	British Library
Select Movements from the Sonata Impetuosa for the Harp, No 2 Adagio	Addison, Hollier & Lucas, London (1845)	British Library (*Missing two movements)
Rondo Capriccioso in B flat	Addison, Hollier & Lucas, London (1855)	No copy traced

Table 4.2 Original songs with pedal harp or pianoforte accompaniment

Name of Work	Publication details	Location
Oh the Sun is diverting himself on the meadows	R Addison & Co, London (1849)	British Library
As I laye a thynkyng	R Mills & Son, London (1863)	British Library
Shed no Tear (The Feary Song of Keats)	Purday & Co, London (1870)	British Library
The Bird and the Bard song	John Reid, London (1850)	British Library
Love me if I live. Ariette etc	E Brooks, London (1870)	British Library
Praise of Spring	Unknown publisher, London (1870)	British Library
A Voice within my soul	R Mills, London (1850)	British Library
Willow, Willow, Willow. The Song of the Stream	Addison & Hollier, London (1854)	British Library
Rapt in a Dream	E Brooks, London (1870)	British Library
I Arise from Dreams of thee	R Mills, London (1845)	British Library
Ring out Wild Bells	Addison & Hollier, London (1852)	British Library
Onward England	Unknown publisher, London (1855)	British Library
I Covet Thee	Addison, Hollier & Lucas, London (1855)	British Library
I've something sweet to tell you (The Secret)	Mills & Sons, London (1865)	British Library
The Fugitives	Addison, Hollier & Lucas, London (1851)	British Library
Dear Friends Afar	Unknown	British Library
Swifter far than Summer's Flight	Addison, Hollier & Lucas, London (?)	No copy traced
Oh ye tears	Unknown	No copy traced

Name of Work	Publication details	Location
Appena Il Giorno Maor	Unknown	No copy traced
Beneath my Palm Trees	Unknown	No copy traced
I Shall see My Love tomorrow	Unknown	No copy traced
Lament (as sung by Mademoiselle Clara Novello & Mdlle F. Lablache)	Unknown	No copy traced
The Cold Earth Slept Below	Unknown	No copy traced
When the Star of the Morning	Unknown	No copy traced

Table 4.3 Arrangements of Irish airs / Fantasias on Irish airs

Name of Work	Publication details	Location
Six familiar Fantasies: Kathleen O More	Metzler & Co, London (1845)	British Library & RIAM
Six familiar Fantasies: Rory O More	Metzler & Co, London (1845)	British Library
Six familiar Fantasies: Kate Kearney	Metzler & Co, London (1845)	British Library & RIAM
Introduction & Variations on the Irish Melody The Old Woman	Unknown publisher, London (1845)	British Library
Irish National Fantasia: Let Erin Remember the Days of Old	Unknown	No copy traced
Last Rose of Summer	Unknown	No copy traced

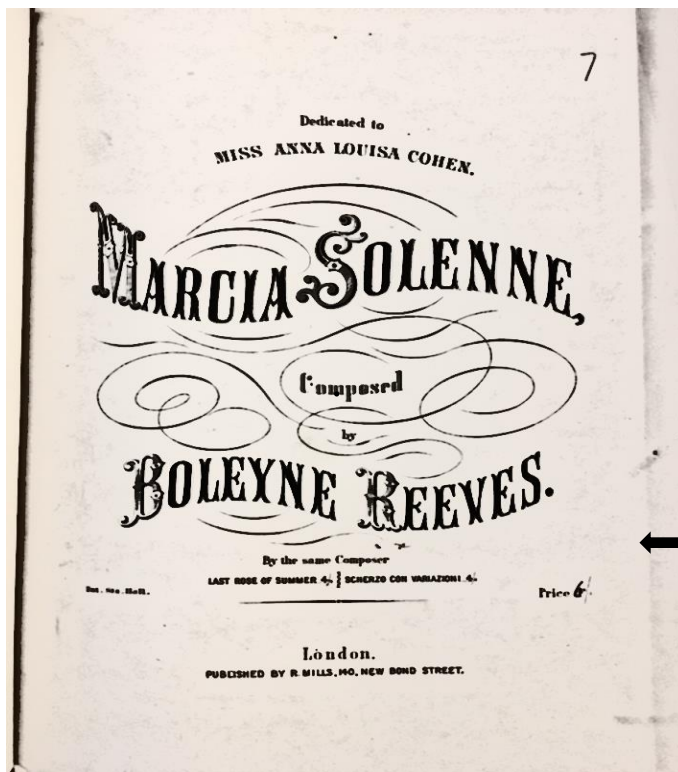
Table 4.4 Arrangements of non-Irish airs / Fantasias on non-Irish airs

Name of Work	Publication details	Location
Six familiar Fantasies: The Lass O' Cowrie	Metzler & Co, London (1845)	No copy traced
Six familiar Fantasies: The Banks of Allen Water	Metzler & Co, London (1845)	No copy traced

Six familiar Fantasies: The Krakoviak	Metzler & Co, London (1845)	No copy traced
Fantasia on the Scotch air The Campbells are Coming	I Willis, London (1840)	British Library
Homage à Schubert	I Willis, London, (n.d.)	RIAM
Grand Concert Solo on Airs from Weber's opera Der Freischütz, Opus 13	Unknown	British Library
Fantasia for the Harp on Des Jägerhaus	Unknown	British Library
Duo Concertante on 'L'Etoile du Nord' by Meyerbeer, for harp and concertina	Unknown	International Harp Archives, Brigham Young University, Provo, United States

Of fifty-two individual compositions known to exist, original copies of twelve of Reeves' works have yet to be located. In addition, two of Reeves' solo works for pedal harp, 'Concert-stück' and 'Sonata Impetuosa', were found to be incomplete.¹¹³ Evidence of five outstanding solo pieces and eight songs was gathered from various sources, including title pages of other works, advertisements in the press and music periodicals, and in publisher lists of new compositions. For example, Reeves' arrangement of 'The Last Rose of Summer', of which no copy has been located, was cited on the title page of 'Marcia Solenne' (Figure 4.5). Evidence of a 'Rondo Capriccioso in B flat', also unaccounted for, was contained in an advertisement in an 1862 edition of *The Musical World* (Figure 4.6). The existence of eight more songs by Reeves was confirmed in a 'List of Vocal Compositions by Boleyn Reeves', published by Addison & Hollier in London and printed after the title page of Reeves' song 'I covet thee' (Figure 4.6).

113 The British Library collection contains the 'Adagio' only from 'Concert-stuck' and the 'Adagio' only from 'Sonata Impetuosa.'



By the same Composer

Figure 4.4 Title page of Marcia Solenne by Boleyne Reeves: ‘By the same Composer’

HARP MUSIC, BY BOLEYNE REEVES.

(Latest Compositions)

MARCIA SOLENNE in F minor	4s.
SCHERZO in E flat minor	4s.
SOLO :—“ The Last Rose of Summer ”	4s.

(Shortly to appear :—)

DIRGE.
 RONDO CAPRICCIOSO, in B flat.
 SONATA IMPETUOSA, in E flat major.

R. MILLS, 140 NEW BOND STREET.

Figure 4.5 Advertisement for ‘Latest Compositions’ in *The Musical World*, 25 May 1862

LIST OF
VOCAL COMPOSITIONS
BY
BOLEYNE REEVES

APPENA IL GIORNO NUOVI..... 2/-	THE BIRD AND THE BARD..... 2/-
(As sung by SIG ^o GARDONI.)	THE COLD EARTH SLEPT BELOW..... 2/-
AS I LAKE A THYNYNGE..... 2/-	THE FUGITIVES..... 2/-
BENEATH MY PALM TREES..... 2/-	THE SECRET..... 2/-
DEAR FRIENDS APART..... 2/-	THE SONG OF THE STREAM..... 2/-
I COVET THEE..... 2/-	WHEN THE STAR OF THE MORNING..... 2/-
I SHALL SEE MY LOVE TO-MORROW..... 2/-	
LAMENT. (As sung by MAD ^o CLARA NOVELLO & MAD ^o F. LABLACHE.)..... 2/-	
ONWARD ENGLAND..... 2/6	
PRaise OF SPRING..... 2/-	
RING OUT WILD BELLS..... 2/-	
SWIFTER FAR THAN SUMMER'S FLIGHT..... 2/-	

Figure 4.6 List of Vocal Compositions by Boleyne Reeves

4.10 Stylistic observations

An overview of Reeves' compositions has identified some idiosyncratic aspects of his compositional style. On balance, these stylistic practices suggest that Reeves was conservative in his outlook, eschewing modern 'harp effects' and the rich, luscious textures that had become hallmarks of mid to late nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire. In terms of structure and form, there are instances where Reeves observed some of the more traditional conventions of eighteenth-century pedal harp composition. Three of his original works for pedal harp, 'Sonata Drammatica' (1850), 'Sonata Impetuosa' (1855) and 'Concert-stück' (1865), were structured in three or four individual movements and were therefore a complete departure from the fantasia-like one-movement forms that were in vogue during Reeves' lifetime.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Publication dates of these works are taken from the British Library catalogue.

4.10.1 Minimal use of harp effects

Reeves' moderate use of effects idiomatic harp effects is striking when his repertoire is placed in its temporal context. One of the enduring effects of mid to late nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire was the *enharmonic arpeggio*, popularised by Bochsa in 1832.¹¹⁵ Better now known as the *enharmonic glissando*, this effect was prevalent in the compositions of Parish Alvars, Oberthür and John Thomas, all of whom were active as composers in Reeves' lifetime.

Ex 4.1 Enharmonic Glissando containing five pitches (D, E#/F, G, A, B#/C)



While Reeves did not incorporate the *enharmonic glissando* into his compositions, he did, however, recognise the value of enharmonic pitches in some contexts. In 'Pastoral No.4', Reeves called for enharmonics to effect a repeated-note pattern in the right hand, allowing the left hand to take the main theme (Ex 4.2). In 'Dirge for a child', enharmonics play a conspicuous role in effecting a *mormorando* (murmur) and are used extensively throughout the work (Ex 4.3).

¹¹⁵ Full title of the work was 'Bochsa's Explanation of his New Harp Effects and Passages, illustrated by numerous examples'. This publication contains explanations of idiomatic harp effects, compiled by Bochsa, that display the unique timbral and harmonic capacity of the double-action pedal harp, including, for example, double and triple harmonics and enharmonic arpeggios (*enharmonic glissandi*). Included in this publication are compositions in which the 'new effects' are contained, such as 'The Imps' March' and 'Familiar Fantasia on Mozart's *Dolce Concerto*'.

Ex 4.2 Enharmonic passage from Pastoral No. 4

Ex 4.3 Introduction to Dirge, published by R. Mills in London in c.1860¹¹⁶

In terms of other harp effects that were unique to the pedal harp, Reeves was, again, much more hesitant than his contemporaries in incorporating them into his compositions. Throughout his catalogue of fourteen original pieces, for example, he did not call for any

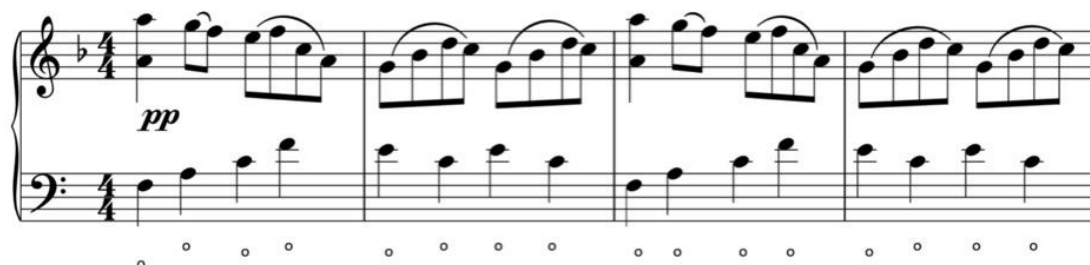
¹¹⁶ This piece of music was photographed at the British Library in London and subsequently cropped by the author.

harmonics to be played. Only two instances of Reeves using harmonics across the spectrum of his compositions has been noted: firstly, in his arrangement of the Irish air ‘Kate Kearney’, in which the left hand is directed to play the melody in single harmonics (Ex 4.4), and secondly, in ‘Grand Concert Solo on airs from Der Freischütz’, where crotchet harmonics in the left hand help to punctuate the rhythm (Ex 4.5).

Ex 4.4 Excerpt from Kate Kearney, published by E. Brooks in c.1860



Ex 4.5 Extract from Grand Concert Solo on Airs from Der Freischütz



4.10.2 Use of structured classical forms

Perhaps strengthening the argument that Reeves adopted a conservative approach to composition is the fact that two of his original pieces are classified under the banner of ‘sonata’, a genre that was virtually obsolete in pedal harp repertoire by the time he had begun to compose in the 1840s. The ‘harp sonata’ was a musical form traditionally favoured by pedal harpists who performed on single-action instruments. With the exception of Bochsa, who composed three ‘Sonatas Progressives’ for the pedal harp,

harpists who composed sonatas for the instrument were largely active prior to 1810.¹¹⁷ Holmes was impressed by the fact that Reeves embraced this traditional form in favour of what he thought were more frivolous works, which he termed ‘fugitive trifles’, and criticised other harpists who, in his opinion, did not have the capacity for the ‘consecutive thinking’ that was mandatory in the construction of a sonata. He wrote:

The prevailing object of fashionable composers is to save themselves the trouble of consecutive thinking and the premeditation of an artistic design. Hence, in all kinds of drawing-room music, there abounds a multitude of fugitive trifles of which the principal effort of invention in the author seems to reside in the title...[.]...It is the fashionable, whether in art or costume which degenerates after its season into a pile of useless, disgusting lumber.

Although the two outer movements of Reeves’ Sonata Impetuosa have yet to be traced, a title page reveals the order of the movements as ‘Allegro con Passione’, ‘Adagio’ and ‘Finale Capriccioso’, in keeping with the convention of two fast movements sandwiching a slow movement. In ‘Sonata Drammatica,’ Reeves extended the work to include four movements by incorporating a scherzo and trio after the first movement ‘Allegro Moderato’.¹¹⁸ Reeves’ ‘Concert-stück’ is also in the form of a sonata and is structured as a three-movement work. Copies of the two outer movements of this work have yet to be located; however, a title page reveals the order of movements as Allegro con Spirito – Andante cantabile – Rondo Brillante.

4.10.3 Texture

Sparse textures are another conspicuous feature of Reeves’ style. In ‘Sonata Drammatica’, for example, monophonic writing – that is, a single line of melody without harmonic foundation – is particularly noticeable in both the ‘Scherzo and Trio’ (second movement) and in the ‘Rondo’ (final movement). The pattern printed below (Ex. 4.6), from the scherzo and trio, is continued throughout the entire duration of this section.

117 Jean B. Krumpholtz (1742-1790), Sophia Dussek (1775-1831) and François J. Naderman (1781-1835). Typically in three-movement format, the sonatas of Krumpholtz, Dussek and Naderman were a pastiche of the piano sonatas of Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) and W.A. Mozart (1756-1791).

118 The individual movements of ‘Sonata Drammatica’ are: Allegro Moderato, Scherzo, Andante and Rondo.

Ex 4.6 Excerpt from ‘Trio’ from Sonata Drammatica (m. 1-7)

The musical score for Ex 4.6 is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The right hand part consists of a sequence of quarter notes: B-flat, C, D, E-flat, F, G, A, B-flat. The left hand part consists of quarter notes: B-flat, C, D, E-flat, F, G, A, B-flat, with some rests in the first few measures.

Another manifestation of Reeves’ sparse textural style is in his use of unharmonised parallel octaves, also unsupported by a harmonic foundation. This practice has been observed in a number of his works, including Pastorals No. 1 and 2, ‘Grand Concert Solo on Airs from Der Freischütz’, ‘Fantasia on Des Jägerhaus’, ‘Sonata Drammatica’ and ‘Concert Stück’. Two examples are outlined below.

Ex 4.7 Excerpt from Pastoral No. 1

The musical score for Ex 4.7 is in 6/8 time and B-flat major. It is marked *Piu Presto* and begins with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. The right hand part features a melody of eighth notes with some rests, while the left hand part consists of eighth notes and rests.

Ex 4.8 Pastoral No. 2 ‘The Village Revel’ (m. 1-10)

The musical score for Ex 4.8 is in 2/4 time and B-flat major. It is marked *Con vivezza* and begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The right hand part features a melody of eighth notes with some rests, while the left hand part consists of eighth notes and rests.

4.11 Recordings

The accompanying recording, which may be streamed by visiting <https://soundcloud.com/clare-mc-cague> and clicking on the playlist entitled ‘Nineteenth-century repertoire of the Irish pedal harp tradition’, is the initial step in the process of reviving Reeves’ repertoire and returning it to the public domain.¹¹⁹ The recording is of four works that are representative of Reeves’ unique contribution to the canon of nineteenth-century pedal harp and song repertoire. The first two tracks, entitled ‘Pastorals’, are from Reeves’ set of ‘Four Pastorals for Harp, Opus 12’, published in 1852. These works have been performed publicly on a number of occasions throughout the course of this study.¹²⁰ Although Reeves’ songs have not been performed publicly to date, two are included in this recording to highlight his significance as an Irish composer of original song repertoire. These are ‘I arise from dreams of thee’, published c.1845, and ‘Rapt in a dream’, published in c.1870.

Track 1 Pastoral No. 3 ‘Falling Leaves’, dedicated to Mrs Reid and published by E. Brooks in London c.1852; a melancholic and contemplative piece, this is a striking example of Reeves’ flair for lyricism which is beautifully sustained over a continuous broken-chord bass. The concept of leaves falling is effectively appropriated throughout the piece with falling suspensions; for example, in measures 3-7 (Figure 4.7) as follows:

119 I acknowledge the artistic input of soprano Catrina Scullion, who performed the vocal part in Tracks 3 and 4.

120 In June 2019, Reeves’ Pastorals for Harp, Opus 12 were performed by the author at ‘Harps of Ireland’, a recital at Cappoquin House in Waterford – part of the Blackwater Valley Opera Festival. In October 2019, these works were performed at the Wolfson Room of the British Academy in London in a recital entitled ‘The Harps of Ireland.’

Ex 4.9 First eight bars of Pastoral No. 3 *Falling Leaves*

The musical score for the first eight bars of Pastoral No. 3 'Falling Leaves' is presented in two systems. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked 'Lentamente' and the dynamic is 'pp'. The bass line consists of a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The treble line has a melodic line with a 'Scordatura' section in measures 3 and 4, and a 'Loco' section in measures 5 and 6. The score is presented in two systems of two staves each.

Track 2 Pastoral No.1, dedicated to the Right Honorable Lady Hobart and published by E. Brooks, London c.1852: an impromptu-like piece that shows a spontaneous and playful side to Reeves' character. One excerpt in particular, copied below (Figure 4.10), encapsulates the extent to which Reeves exploited the chromatic capacity of the double-action pedal harp. Beginning at measure 19, marked *Legato*, Reeves explores a variety of harmonies that require multiple pedal changes.

Ex 4.10 Legato from Pastoral No. 1

Legato

5

11

Track 3 ‘I arise from dreams of thee’: a vocal serenade for harp or pianoforte accompaniment based on the eponymous poem of renowned English poet Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1922), published by R. Mills, London c.1845.

Track 4 ‘Rapt in a dream’, a vocal canzonet for harp or pianoforte accompaniment with lyrics also penned by Reeves, published by E. Brooks, London c.1870.

4.12 Concluding remarks

After Reeves’ death in 1905, only two references to him have been documented in a digital search of newspaper archives. In 1908, the *Essex Newsman* reported on the sale of Reeves’ house in Greenbourne, Writtle, Essex, where he had lived for a number of years prior to settling in Wickham Bishops.¹²¹ In 1919, both of Reeves’ Érard harps (identified

¹²¹ *Essex Newsman*, 25 April 1908 Note that when Margaret Reeves died in 1893, the couple were living in Greenbourne, Writtle. See *Essex Herald*, 25 July 1893.

as serial numbers 5127 and 5208) were listed at auction following the death of his widow Grace.¹²²

In his lifetime, Reeves was publicly compared to Parish Alvars, privately admired by Hector Berlioz and was the subject of a glowing review by one of Britain's prominent music critics, Edward Holmes. In 1865, he was described in *The Era*, along with his contemporaries Aptommas and Chatterton, as one of the 'most accomplished executants' of the pedal harp tradition in London.¹²³ In 1908, W.H. Cummings (1831-1915), then chair of the Royal Musical Association in London and a former Professor of Singing at the Royal Academy of Music, described Reeves as 'one of the best English players' he had ever heard.¹²⁴ Cummings could perhaps be excused for mistaking Reeves' nationality in this instance, given that Reeves had spent his entire adult life in England.¹²⁵

The esteem in which Reeves was held by his contemporaries places him in the ranks of the most successful Irish performers of the nineteenth century. In addition, his impressive catalogue of compositions places him in the ranks of the most prolific Irish composers. Reeves was the only Irish composer to write original material for the pedal harp in the nineteenth century, and it is important that his legacy is preserved and celebrated. The accompanying recording is evidence that Reeves' compositions possess a distinctive charm, and deserve revival and dissemination. The dissemination of Reeves' repertoire during his lifetime is yet to be ascertained. There is tangible evidence that his compositions are dispersed throughout private collections of nineteenth-century repertoire that are, heretofore, uncatalogued. In 2019, three of his *Pastorals for Solo Harp, Opus 12* were identified in an arbitrary search in an antiquarian music shop, Travis & Emery, in central London.¹²⁶ Only future scoping studies will determine whether or

122 *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 31 October 1919. Auction for the contents of the Reeves' home at "Longwood" was conducted by Messrs Abrey and Gardner. Contents included 'highly valuable antique furniture' (detailed in advertisement) including a seven-octave Érard piano.

123 *The Era*, 7 May 1865. The article describes the a revival of interest in the harp: 'London is already acquainted with the most accomplished executants – the brilliant playing of Messrs Aptommas and Chatterton or the dreamy elegance of Boleyn Reeves' being welcome to most admirers of music.'

124 Direct quote, which erroneously states that Reeves was English, is: 'I do remember Balzier, Chatterton, Aptommas, and Boleyn Reeves – one of the best English players I ever heard'. Taken from Kastner, Alfred. 'The Harp.' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 35 (1908): 1-14 www.jstor.org/stable/765669, accessed March 5, 2020.

125 Katherine Poyntz' concert at the Hanover Rooms, Morning Post, 22 June 1869 Cummings and Reeves are noted to have both performed at the same concert at the Queen's Concert Rooms in 1869, although it is likely, given Cummings' comment, that they interacted on other occasions.

126 Travis & Emery is located at 17 Cecil Court, Charing Cross Road in London. Reeves' works were contained in boxes of pedal harp repertoire, marked 'Harp music'. These were identified with the help of an employee, also an Irish concert harpist, Tara Viscardi.

not this was a serendipitous exercise. In Ireland, none of Reeves' works have been identified, beyond those contained in the Louisa Cane Collection.

The final chapter of this thesis focuses on the repertoire of the nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition in Ireland and is underpinned by collections of pedal harp repertoire that were identified in a scoping study in 2015. These collections are contextualised with a concert repertoire database detailing the repertoire performed by Irish pedal harpists over the course of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 5: Repertoire

5.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to narrate the repertoire trends of the nineteenth-century Irish pedal harp tradition and to isolate and perform repertoire of Irish significance. Underpinning the chapter are five collections of pedal harp repertoire, identified in a scoping study, and a concert repertoire database (Appendix III), assembled by extracting concert data from nineteenth-century newspaper archives. Collectively, these data sources outline the oscillating popularity of various harpist-composers over the course of the nineteenth century, the impact of foreign virtuosi, particularly those who visited Ireland, on the repertoire performed by Irish pedal harpists, and the permeation of Irish airs into the repertoire of what was an imported instrumental tradition. Central to this study is the performance, revival and dissemination of repertoire of Irish significance that has hitherto been unaccounted for, lest performed, in contemporary scholarship. On this basis, a recording is an integrated component of this chapter. Ten representative works have been chosen to illuminate the role of the pedal harp, a non-indigenous instrument, in the transmission of Irish airs. These works also reflect the variety of ways in which Irish airs were incorporated into pedal harp repertoire.

This chapter is divided into three broad sections. The first section, under the umbrella of ‘Collections’, overviews the collections identified at the outset of this study, discusses the general repertoire trends pertaining to each collection, and, within each individual collection, accounts for the repertoire of Irish significance. In the introduction to this thesis, repertoire of Irish significance was divided into two categories: original repertoire for the pedal harp written by Irish composers, and repertoire in which traditional Irish airs were used as thematic material. Boleyn Reeves, discussed in Chapter 4, was the only Irish composer who wrote original material for the pedal harp.¹ This repertoire discussion is therefore focused on arrangements, variations and fantasias on Irish melodies written for the pedal harp. Following an overview of individual collections, the second section of

¹ In the methodology of this thesis, ‘original’ compositions are defined as works based exclusively on a composer’s own source material, as opposed to works derived from pre-existing Irish melodies drawn from ancient collections of Irish music.

this chapter is concerned with concert repertoire and is a commentary on the data collated from advertisements and reviews extracted from Irish newspapers published between 1800 and 1900. This data is contained in the concert repertoire appendix that accompanies this chapter (Appendix III). Finally, the third section, under the banner of ‘performance’, revives repertoire of Irish significance, identified in collections and amidst concert data. Although neglected and overlooked in contemporary performance, this repertoire was an integral part of the nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition in Ireland.

I. COLLECTIONS

5.2 Collections

A scoping study, conducted at the outset of this research in 2014, identified five collections of pedal harp repertoire in Ireland containing items within remit: one collection in the Royal Irish Academy of Music (Louisa Cane Collection), two collections in the National Library of Ireland (one catalogued, one uncatalogued), one collection in Trinity College Dublin (Townley Hall Collection) and one collection associated with Loreto schools (Loreto Collection).

5.2.1 *The Louisa Cane Collection*

Louisa Cane (1823-1909) was an amateur pedal harpist from Celbridge in Co. Kildare and was one of seven children of Richard and Isabella Cane. A woman from a privileged background, she represented the archetypal amateur Irish pedal harpist.² Scant references to Louisa Cane in news archives suggest that she led a private life but maintained an active interest in the Arts. In 1879, she was appointed to the committee of the ‘Robinson Memorial Fund’ and was a member on this committee until at least 1908.³ In 1897, with two fellow pedal harpists, she helped to fund a composition prize in the Feis Ceoil in

2 For further information on the Cane family, see <https://riamlibrary.wordpress.com/2017/03/09/the-louisa-cane-collection-of-harp-music-at-the-riam-by-clare-mccague/>, accessed 4 April 2019.

3 IT, 3 December 1879. Note the Robinson Memorial Fund was a fund dedicated to assisting female professors of music and their families through illness or incapacitation. Description taken from *DDE*, 28 March 1911. Miss Cane was still involved in the committee in 1908, the year before her death; she was listed in the ‘Committee of Management’ alongside other well-known music personalities including Lady Cruise, Miss Elsner, Mrs Scott-Ffennell, Mrs Culwick. *DDE*, 25 March 1908.

honour of their teacher, Charles Oberthür.⁴ Plaques erected in Christ Church in Celbridge, an Anglican church adjacent to the family home of St. Wolstan's, are evidence that the Cane family supported church music and were active members of the local congregation.⁵ One plaque, for example, indicates that Louisa and her sister Caroline funded the transept in which the church organ is contained.⁶

The Louisa Cane Collection is a substantial collection of pedal harp and piano music, donated by Louisa Cane to the Royal Irish Academy of Music in 1901.⁷ It encompasses twenty-nine retrospectively bound volumes, the smallest of which contains six individual pieces, the largest of which contains twenty-one.⁸ These volumes contain solo harp repertoire (or solo repertoire for the harp or pianoforte), duets for harp and pianoforte, solo piano repertoire and vocal pieces with harp or pianoforte accompaniment. A number of volumes are organised systematically, featuring the compositions of specific composers. For example, there are seven volumes dedicated solely the compositions of Charles Oberthür. In contrast, the contents of some volumes exhibit no clear patterns and are of an arbitrary nature.⁹ Some volumes are inscribed in ink or pencil with 'Louisa Cane, St. Wolstan's; occasionally Cane opted to use the Irish version of her name, 'Louisa O Cahan'.¹⁰

Containing 369 individual items, 306 of which are harp scores, this collection is the largest and most comprehensive amalgam of pedal harp repertoire examined in this

4 'It will be remembered that ten years ago a sum of £10 was collected by Miss Edith Davis, of Belfast, in memory of Carl Oberthür, the celebrated harpist [...] The prize was subscribed by Miss Edith Davis, Miss Louisa Cane and Miss Lottie Coates, all pupils of Carl Oberthür, but was not awarded the first year'. *FJ*, 27 June 1899.

5 A plaque adjacent to the church organ reads: 'This organ was given to the Christ Church, Celbridge, for the glory of God and in memory of her parents Arthur Beresford Cane and Selina Cane by their daughter Edith Caroline Isabella Cane. May 5th 1883'. Edith Caroline Isabella Cane was niece of Louisa Cane. A memorial plaque, directly beneath the above plaque, reads: 'To the glory of God and in loving memory of her dear niece Edith Caroline Isabella Cane [...] erected by her Aunt Louisa Cane'.

6 A visit to Christ Church in Celbridge took place in November 2017. A plaque beside the church's organ reads 'Louisa and Caroline Cane erected this transept in which the organ stands.'

7 The donation of this collection is documented in the commemorative publication *To Talent Alone: The Royal Irish Academy of Music, 1848-1998*. See Acton & Pine, 486.

8 See Appendix I for representative examples of RISM catalogue.

9 For example, one bound volume is inscribed with 'Miss Donovan' on its front cover. It contains repertoire by a variety of composers, including Bochsá, T.P. Chipp, J.L. Dussek, Philip Knapton, W.H. Steil. RISM Collection I.D. is 00000866000376.

10 Of twenty-nine volumes, sixteen are identifiable as having been bound by Miss Cane, while the remaining thirteen volumes were acquired by her. For example, one volume is embossed with the name 'Miss Donovan' while another is embossed with the name 'Ellen'. Five volumes are not embossed with any details.

study.¹¹ Of the five collections examined, it contains the broadest spectrum of pedal harp repertoire performed in Ireland over the course of the nineteenth century, as confirmed by Appendix III. Featuring works by Bochsa and Labarre, harpists who were at the height of their success prior to 1850, and works by Parish Alvars, Oberthür and John Thomas, harpists who wrote in more harmonically adventurous idioms typical of the period c.1840-1900, items contained in the Louisa Cane Collection span a publishing period of at least sixty years.¹² The diversity of repertoire in the Louisa Cane Collection largely tallies with the evolution of pedal harp repertoire over the course of Cane's lifespan. Born in 1823, it is likely she began to learn the pedal harp in the mid to late 1830s when Bochsa had established himself as one of the leading pedal harp pedagogues in Europe. As a student of Oberthür in the 1850s, Cane was witness to the emerging trends in pedal harp repertoire, advocated and progressed by her teacher and his contemporaries.

Unlike other collections examined in this study, the Louisa Cane Collection captures the changing landscape of nineteenth-century performance and teaching trends in Ireland. It is on the basis of its scope and comprehensiveness that the collection has been catalogued within RISM.¹³ This exercise was valuable in paving research trajectories of relevance to this study. For example, evidence of the teacher-student relationship between Oberthür and Louisa Cane was contained in a handwritten inscription on 'Meditation, a musical sketch for the harp, Opus153', copied below (Figure 5.1). Similarly, the impetus for an investigation of the life, career and compositions of Boleyne Reeves was based on two Irish arrangements by Reeves contained in the collection.

11 Note that an 'item' is an individual score. This may be a solo harp piece or a single part of a duet.

12 For example, the collection contains works by J.L. Dussek who died in 1812, and works by Oberthür, published by Ashdown & Parry, active in London between c.1862 and 1882.

13 See Appendix I for pictorial examples of RISM catalogue.

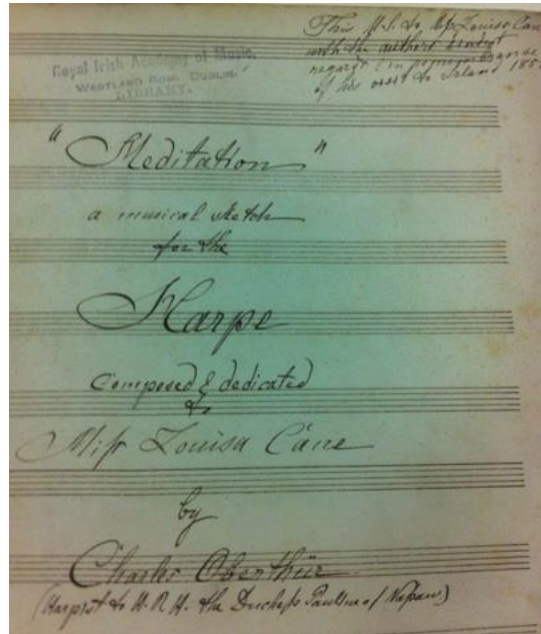


Figure 5.1 Inscription from Oberthür to Louisa Cane

Seventeen items of Irish significance were identified in the Louisa Cane Collection. These items are detailed in Table 5.1. Four of these works were attributed to Bochsa, three each to Oberthür, Labarre and J.B. Chatterton and two to Irish pedal harpist Boleyne Reeves. It should be noted that Gerhard Taylor's 'Twenty-four Irish Melodies' was counted as one item on the basis that it was published as a collective of short melodies. An anonymous arrangement of 'An Chualfhoinn' and an arrangement of 'St Patrick's Day in the Morning' by German harpist J.M. Weippert (1775-1831) complete the items of Irish significance. Of the seven composers who feature in Table 5.1, Weippert is the only one not known to have visited Ireland.

Separate to the seventeen items identified, one additional item of Irish interest was located in this collection. Entitled 'Select Airs from Verdi's *Il Trovatore*', it was composed by J.B. Chatterton.¹⁴ Although not based on an Irish melody, this work was dedicated to Louisa Cane and her mother, indicating a connection between the Cane family and

¹⁴ J.B. Chatterton (1804-1871) was a pupil of Labarre and Bochsa. He succeeded Bochsa as professor of harp at the Royal Academy of Music in London and was appointed harpist to Queen Victoria in 1842. Chatterton's considerable body of compositions consisted of fantasias and arrangements of popular melodies, including traditional airs of the British Isles. See Rensch, *The Harp: Its History, Technique and Repertoire*, 115.

Chatterton. The basis of this connection has yet to be established; however, the fact that Chatterton did not come to Ireland lends credence to the idea that Louisa Cane may have studied pedal harp in London, where Chatterton was active.

Table 5.1 Items of Irish interest in Louisa Cane Collection

Composer	Title of work	Irish (I) or Non-Irish (NI)	Visited Ireland (Y or N)	Other collection
1. Bochsa	A fantasia in which is introduced a favourite Irish melody (3 copies)	NI	Y	NLI uncat., NLI cat
2. Bochsa	Reliques Irlandaises, favourite Irish national strains	NI	Y	NLI uncat., NLI cat
3. Bochsa	L'Italie & L'Irlande, nocturno for the harp & flute on Fra Tante, Sly Patrick & Cruda Sorta	NI	Y	N
4. Bochsa	Souvenir d'Irlande, a fantasia on the admired air Robin Adair	NI	Y	N
5. Oberthür	Erin go bragh, duet for harp and pianoforte	NI	Y	N
6. Oberthür	Fantaisie Brilliante for harp on motives of Flotow's Martha, introducing the Last Rose of Summer	NI	Y	N
7. Oberthür	Erin oh! Erin. Melodie Irlandaises favorite transcribe pour harpe	NI	Y	N
8. Labarre	Fantasia Irlandoise introducing two favourite Irish melodies (2 copies)	NI	Y	NLI uncat., NLI cat
9. Labarre	Kathleen O More, to which is added an admired Russian waltz	NI	Y	NLI cat.
10. Labarre	Brilliant fantasia, Sly Patrick, The Moreen & Nora Creena	NI	Y	N

Composer	Title of work	Irish (I) or Non-Irish (NI)	Visited Ireland (Y or N)	Other collection
11. Taylor	24 Irish Melodies	NI	Y	NLI cat., NLI uncat.
12. Reeves, Boleyne	Kathleen O'More	I	(Irish)	British Library
13. Reeves, Boleyne	Kate Kearney	I	(Irish)	British Library
14. Chatterton, John B.	Hommage à Carolan	NI	N	N
15. Chatterton, J.B.	Fantasia introducing three celebrated national melodies: Air an mbaile so ta chilfhoinn, Gramachree, an Spailpin fanach	NI	N	N
16. Anon	The favourite air of Coolin, with variations for the pedal harp or pf	?	?	NLI cat.
17. Weippert, J.M.	The celebrated air St Patrick's Day in the Morning & the Ulric waltz, arr for the harp	NI	?	N

5.2.2. *The National Library of Ireland (catalogued)*

The National Library of Ireland (NLI) music collection consists of printed scores mostly dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in addition to a relatively small collection of manuscript music. Harp music in the NLI is contained in two main collections; the ‘Joly Music Collection’ and the ‘Additional Music Collection’ (Add Mus Collection). The Joly Music Collection is the core of the library’s music collection.⁸⁹⁴ It contains approximately 6000 items, most of which date from the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, and includes vocal and instrumental scores, collections and arrangements of Irish airs and miscellaneous items. The Add Mus Collection contains approximately 13,000 items; the vast majority of its material dates from later in the nineteenth century and the collection includes some twentieth-century material. It also contains vocal and instrumental scores, collections and arrangements of Irish airs, as well as ballads, instrumental arrangements of operatic airs, Irish country dances and miscellaneous material. Sheet music contained in the National Library (catalogued and uncatalogued) does not exhibit tangible trends, by virtue of the fact that these collections are amalgams of multiple private collections donated over extended periods of time. A search of the NLI’s online catalogue using the keyword ‘harp’ and limited to ‘musical scores’ retrieves 1083 items; some 700 of these items were published between 1800 and 1900. Twenty-eight items of Irish significance from the nineteenth century were identified in this catalogue, as outlined in Table 5.2. The works of Bochsa are predominant in this collection; however, in contrast to the Louisa Cane Collection, there are no works by Oberthür. At least four Irish composers, three of whom were pedal harpists, feature in the collection, although in each case, their arrangements of Irish airs were scored for harp or pianoforte as opposed to harp alone. The arrangements of Charlotte Maria Despard and G.P. Lewis are of particular interest to this study as these harpists were important advocates of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland before 1850, as discussed in Chapter 2.⁸⁹⁵ A significant number of composers who feature in table 5.2

894 See National Library of Ireland website for details on collections, <https://www.nli.ie/en/udlist/books-collections.aspx>, accessed 20 May 2019.

895 Úna Hunt isolated two of these works by Despard, ‘Gramachree Molly’ and ‘My Lodging is on the Cold Ground’, in 2010 as part of a collaborative venture to create a National Archive of Irish Composers (NAIC) between the NLI, DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama (now TU Dublin Conservatoire), and Heritage Productions. See <https://arrow.tudublin.ie/naic/>. Professor Clíona Doris performed ‘Gramachree Molly’ at the launch of the NAIC in November 2010 at a recital entitled ‘Musical Treasures of the National Library’. See <https://arrow.tudublin.ie/aaconmuscp/9/>, accessed 10 July 2018.

had no overt connection with Ireland; for example, neither Scottish composer Joseph Dale (c.1750-1821) nor German pianist and composer Ferdinand Ries (c.1784-1838) are noted to have visited Ireland.

Table 5.2 Items within scope in National Library of Ireland (catalogued)

Composer	Title of work	Irish (I) or Non-Irish (NI)	Visited Ireland (Y or N)	Contained in other collection?
1. Anon	The favourite air of Coolin with vars for the pedal harp or pf, composed and ded to Miss Sarah Brown of Mount Prospect by a friend (2 copies)	?	?	Louisa Cane
2. Bochsa	A fantasia for the harp in which is introduced a favourite Irish melody (4 copies)	NI	Y	Louisa Cane, NLI uncat., Townley Hall
3. Bochsa	Rory O More, arr for the harp and pf	NI	Y	N
4. Bochsa	Souvenance romantique d'Irlande et d'Ecosse, arr for the harp and pf	NI	Y	N
5. Bochsa	Erin's bardic effusions for harp with an acc. for pf	NI	Y	N
6. Bochsa	Reliques Irlandaises, favourite Irish national strains for the harp	NI	Y	Louisa Cane, NLI uncat.
7. Butler, TH ⁸⁹⁶	The favourite air of Aileen Aroon with vars for the harp or pf	I	(Irish)	N
8. Challoner, N.B. ⁸⁹⁷	The brown Irish girl, an admired Irish air with vars for the harp	NI	N	N
9. Chipp, TP	A selection of national and popular melodies (Moore)	NI	Y (1831)	N
10. Cooke, Thomas Simpson	St. Patrick's Day, arr as a rondo for the pf or harp (4 copies)	I	(Irish)	N

⁸⁹⁶ Thomas Hamly Butler (1755-1823) was a composer born in London.

⁸⁹⁷ Neville Butler Challoner was an English multi-instrumentalist and composer. He was harpist at the Italian opera in London from 1809-1829. See Aber-Count, Alice Lawson. 'Challoner, Neville Butler.' *Grove Music Online* <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000005374>, accessed 12 April 2019.

Composer	Title of work	Irish (I) or Non-Irish (NI)	Visited Ireland (Y or N)	Contained in other collection?
11. Dale, Joseph	Moll in the wad, a favourite Irish dance arr. as a rondo for the pf or harp	NI	?	N
12. Dale, Joseph ⁸⁹⁸	Gary Owen, arr. as a rondo for the pf or harp	NI	?	N
13. Despard, Charlotte Maria	My Lodging is on the Cold Ground	I	(Irish)	N
14. Despard, Charlotte Maria	Gramachree Molly with vars for the pf or harp	I	(Irish)	N
15. Holden, Smollet	Collections of favourite Irish airs, arr. for the harp or pf (x10 copies)	I ?	(Irish/resident in Ireland)	N
16. Labarre, T	Kathleen O More to which is added a Russian Waltz (x 2 copies)	NI	Y	Louisa Cane
17. Labarre, T	Fantasia Irlandaise (x 2 copies)	NI	Y	NLI uncat., Louisa Cane
18. Latour, T	Gary Owen, arr as a rondo for the pf or harp (x 3 copies)	NI	?	N
19. Lewis, GP	Paddy O Rafferty, arr. as a rondo for the pedal harp or pf (x 3 copies)	I	(Irish)	N
20. Lewis, GP	Fantasia on a favourite Irish melody for the harp or pf (a Bard's legacy?)	I	(Irish)	N
21. Logier, JB	A favourite sonata for the pf or pedal harp in which is introduced the Irish melody Breathe not his name	NI	Y (German, resident in Ireland)	N

898 Joseph Dale (1750-1821) was a music publisher and established his first publishing business in London as early as 1873. He was also an organist and composed sonatas, arranged vocal airs. See Philip H. Highfill, Kalmann A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhams. *A biographical dictionary of actors, actresses, musicians, dancers, managers and other stage personnel in London, 1600-1800* (Illinois: Carbondale, 1873-1993), 122.

Composer	Title of work	Irish (I) or Non-Irish (NI)	Visited Ireland (Y or N)	Contained in other collection?
22. Meyer, P J Snr ⁸⁹⁹	Irish melodies as duets for the pf and harp (x 2 copies)	NI	N	N
23. Pole, JF	An Irish air, the variations composed for the harp	NI	Y	NLI uncat
24. Reeve, William	Robin Adair, arr for the harp or pf (x 3 copies)	?	?	NLI uncat
25. Ries, Ferdinand	Fantasia for the pf or harp, in which is introduced two admired Irish airs	NI	?	N
26. Schroeder, Richard	6 sets of 'Favourite airs for the harp or pf' containing Irish airs	NI	?	N
27. Taylor, G	24 Irish Melodies	NI	Y	Louisa Cane, NLI uncat
28. Whitaker, J	The celebrated Irish melodies, arr for the harp or pf	?	?	N

899 Not to be confused with P.J. Meyer Jnr, his son, who was one of the first pedal harpists to perform in Ireland in 1792 when he is noted to have performed on at least three occasions at Crow Street Theatre. See Chapter 2.

5.2.3. *The National Library of Ireland (uncatalogued)*

The National Library of Ireland contains a vast body of uncatalogued music consisting of printed scores, manuscripts, and pedagogical materials, donated to the institution over many years. These items are stored off-site and are available for perusal by researchers on a case-by-case basis, within clear and specific limitations.⁹⁰⁰ In 2012, a scoping study was conducted by Dr Catherine Ferris to ascertain the feasibility and cost of cataloguing pre-twentieth century music materials in the NLI using the RISM Ireland database.⁹⁰¹ A feasibility report, produced by Ferris, determined that there were 2403 items within scope (pre-twentieth century materials) containing 17,866 of uncatalogued pieces of music.⁹⁰² In 2016, the uncatalogued materials detailed above were accessed in order to extract nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire.⁹⁰³ This exercise isolated ninety seven items relevant to the nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition, twelve of which were deemed of Irish significance.

The works of Bochsá are again predominant in this collection, constituting three out of twelve of the compositions of Irish significance isolated. Labarre and Taylor also feature, making them common denominators, as composers, in three out of five collections. An arrangement of Scottish harpist J.F. Pole, noted in Chapter 2 to have performed and taught in Ireland in the 1830s, is a rare find, as only one other work by Pole has been traced in the study.⁹⁰⁴ Table 5.3 outlines the twelve items within scope from this collection. On the basis that this collection is uncatalogued and contained in multiple boxes, this table contains an extra column that indicates the location of each score, to ensure that these works are readily accessible for future studies of this nature.

900 Special access was obtained through Sandra McDermott, Assistant Keeper, following a meeting with Dr Catherine Ferris in 2016.

901 Dr Ferris was assisted by Lindsay Dowling in this project. I acknowledge Dr Ferris for providing me with a copy of scoping and feasibility report that was assembled after this project was undertaken. This document is entitled: 'RISM Ireland & The National Library of Ireland. Feasibility Report October 2012.'

902 These items are contained in the Manuscripts Department and the Prints and Drawings Department of the NLI and may only be accessed with special permission. This music was donated to the NLI over many years, however limited resources at the institution have meant that it has not been catalogued.

903 Note that this was undertaken with permission from Sandra McDermott, assistant library keeper.

904 A Scotch ballad arranged for the harp or pianoforte by 'John E. Pole' in Townley Hall Collection. 'E' is considered here as a transcription error.

Table 5.3 Items within scope in National Library of Ireland (uncatalogued)

Composer	Title of work	Location	Irish (I) or Non-Irish (NI)	Visited Ireland (Y or N)	Contained in other collection
1. Bochsá	Reliques Irlandaises, favourite Irish national strains (3 copies)	Black Box bundle 1	NI	Y	NLI cat., Louisa Cane
2. Bochsá	Marche Irlandaise pour la harpe dans laquelle est introduit l'air Nora Creana	Grey box 14	NI	Y	N
3. Bochsá	A Fantasia for the harp in which is intro a fav Irish melody (2 copies)	Grey box 1 (maroon volume), 11 and 14	NI	Y	NLI cat., Louisa Cane, Townley Hall
4. Labarre	The Last Rose of Summer	Black Box 27	NI	Y	N
5. Labarre	Fantasia Irlandaise for the harp in which is introduced 2 fav Irish airs	Grey box 17	NI	Y	Louisa Cane, NLI cat.
6. Pole, JF	An Irish air, the vars composed for the harp	Grey box 11	NI	Y	NLI cat.
7. Taylor, Gerhard	24 Irish Melodies 3 copies	Grey Box, Black Box (PP), Black Box (UP)	NI	Y	Louisa Cane, NLI cat.
8. Reeve, William (1757-1815)	Robin Adair composed and arr for the harp or pf	Grey Box yellow post-it	NI	N	NLI cat.

Composer	Title of work	Location	Irish (I) or Non-Irish (NI)	Visited Ireland (Y or N)	Contained in other collection
9. Marsh, SHA (Stephen Hale Alonzo Marsh, born in Sidmouth in 1805, a pupil of Bochsa) ⁹⁰⁵	Intro & vars on the fav Irish air of Kathleen O More, composed and dedicated to Miss Dickenson, owner of volume	Grey Box 11	NI	Y (1841)	N
10. Anon	Fantasia for the harp and pf on a fav Irish melody, inscribed to Carolan & Tmoore	Black Box 1310 (PP)	?	?	N
11. Holst, Gustavus ⁹⁰⁶	The Harpists' Sketch Book: A Collection of the most favourite Irish melodies arr for the harp	1 contained in Grey Box 14	NI	N	N

⁹⁰⁵ One reference to a 'Mr Marsh' performing harp in Ireland has been found. 'Mr Marsh' performed on the harp at Signor Sapio's annual concert at the Antient Concert Rooms in April 1841; other musicians included Mr Levey on violin, Mr Harrington (husband of harpist Mrs Harrington) on double bass, Mr Piggot on cello, Miss Hayes as one of the principal vocalists. DEM, 28 April 1841.

⁹⁰⁶ Gustavus Valentine Holst (1799-1871) was an English pianist, harpist and composer who settled in Cheltenham in the 1830s. See, for example, advertisement in the *Cheltenham Chronicle* on 18 September 1834 wherein he was described a Professor of the Harp from London, and the *Cheltenham Looker-on* on 31 December 1853. 'Mr Gustavus Von Holst will resume his professional engagements in Cheltenham'. Gustavus was grandfather to renowned English composer Gustav Holst (1874-1934), best known for his orchestral suite *The Planets*.

5.2.4 Collections associated with Loreto schools (herein referred to as ‘The Loreto Collection’)

The Loreto Collection is an amalgamation of two small collections of pedal harp music affiliated with Loreto schools in Ireland the nineteenth century. The collection includes five volumes passed on to Professor Clíona Doris in c.2002, containing seventy six individual items, and a collection of sheet music belonging to former Loreto student Phyllis Paul in the possession of Irish harpist Sheila Larchet Cuthbert, containing forty-nine items.⁹⁰⁷ This collection contains the works of a broad spectrum of harpist-composers, among them a collection of studies by Bochsá, ‘Forty-eight Études’ by François Dizi, a variety of compositions and editions by John Thomas, purported to have been Phyllis Paul’s teacher, a handful of pieces by Oberthür and a selection of works by Albert Zabel (1835-1910) and Alphonse Hasselmans (1845-1912).⁹⁰⁸ Although individual items are mostly undated, collections of pedal harp repertoire from Loreto schools may be broadly traced to the second half of the nineteenth century, tallying with the fact that this period saw the increased influence of convent schools on harp pedagogy and performance.⁹⁰⁹ In order to fully assess the repertoire performed and taught in Loreto schools in the period 1850-1900, it will be necessary to locate further collections of this nature; however, it is likely that these collections are in private hands and may only become accessible over time. The Loreto collection contains only one item of Irish interest: Oberthür’s transcription of the Limerick Lamentation, dedicated to Marie Wade in Dalkey, Co. Dublin.⁹¹⁰ This work does not feature in any of the other collections

907 Note that of 49 items, 43 were for solo harp, 4 were songs and 2 were duets. Phyllis Paul was a former student of Loreto Abbey in Rathfarnham. On a copy of John Thomas’ *Il Papagallo*, ‘Phyllis Paul 1893’ is written in pencil. On an envelope in which sheet music was contained, Sheila Larchet wrote ‘Harp Music belonging to Phyllis Paul, student of eminent Welsh harpist John Thomas’, although I have been unable to confirm this. This would explain preponderance of compositions of John Thomas. Five volumes given to Cliona Doris by Rev. Kevin McMullan in c.2002. Loreto Abbey in Rathfarnham, originally the centre of the order’s operations in Ireland, was sold in October 1999. An auction of the Abbey’s contents was conducted in July 2000. An *IT* article on the auction notes upright pianos for sale but there is no reference to harps. See *IT*, 15 July 2000. I have anecdotal evidence, through Aine Hughes (Loreto Archivist) that collections of music were given away to interested parties, including former students of the institution.

908 German pedal harpist Zabel spent the majority of his professional life in St. Petersburg, Russia. He was first professor of harp at St. Petersburg Conservatoire. His work ‘The Method for the Harp’ was published in 1900. Belgian pedal harpist Hasselmans was professor of harp at the Paris Conservatoire between 1884 and 1912. A prolific composer, he taught a generation of eminent twentieth-century pedal harpists, including Henriette Renié, Marcelle Tournier and Carlot Salzedo.

909 The collection given to Cliona Doris may be from late nineteenth or early twentieth century on the basis that it contains works by Albert Zabel (1835-1910) and Alphonse Hasselmans (1845-1912).

910 Marie Wade is unknown, but it is likely that she was a student of Oberthür.

examined. In Chapter 3, Oberthür’s repertoire was noted to have been popular in Loreto schools and it is possible that he was acquainted with Mother Attracta Coffey, a leading harp pedagogue in Ireland between 1850 and 1900.

Table 5.4 Items within scope in Loreto Collection

Composer	Title of Work	Irish (I) or Non-Irish (NI)	Visited Ireland? (Y/N/?)	Contained in other collection?
Oberthür, Charles	When Cold in the earh (Air: Limerick’s Lamentation) transcribed for harp solo, Opus 347, dedicated to Miss Marie Wade, Dalkey, Ireland	NI	Y	N

5.2.5 The Townley Hall Collection

Townley Hall is a large Georgian country house near Drogheda, Co. Louth built between 1794 and 1798 for the Townley-Balfour family.⁹¹¹ The Townley Hall Collection, containing the contents of the house’s library, was acquired by Trinity College Dublin in 1960.⁹¹² It consists of 2500 items that range from works of classical literature, Anglican theology, travel and music. Of the 1240 music items, 137 are related to the harp.⁹¹³ Among these items are works by harpist-composers who were exclusively active prior to 1850, including P.J. Meyer (1732-1820), J.B. Krumpholtz (1742-1790), J.M. Weippert (1775-1831), F.J. Naderman (1781-1835), N.C. Bochsa (1789-1856) and François Dizi (1780-1840). One work in the collection, an arrangement of the Scotch ballad for the harp or pianoforte, is attributed to ‘John E. Pole’; it is likely that this is a transcription error and that this was in fact J.F. Pole, the Scottish harpist who performed in Ireland on a number of occasions prior to 1850. In the entire Townley Hall Collection, no work is listed as having been published after c.1830, indicating that the harp-related contents of the collection belonged to a person (or persons) who practised in the first half of the nineteenth century, possibly even on a single-action instrument. Consequently, there are

911 For further information on the history of Townley Hall, see <https://www.coillte.ie/site/townley-hall/>, accessed 10 January 2020.

912 See www.townleyhall.ie/history and ‘Named Collections’ via TCD library website <https://www.tcd.ie/library/epb/named-collections/t.php>. An Excel document detailing this collection was provided by Roy Stanley, music librarian at TCD.

913 Items considered related to the harp include works scored for ‘harp or pianoforte’, including songs with an accompaniment for either of the two instruments.

no harp compositions by the likes of Parish Alvars, Oberthür, Godefroid and John Thomas, harpists who had an impact on the repertoire of the pedal harp tradition after 1840 and who would have written specifically for the double-action instrument. This Collection contains two items of Irish interest, outlined in Table 5.5. It is the only collection of the five consulted that contains an arrangement of an Irish air by Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760-1812), first husband of Sophia Corri (1775-1831), one of the first foreign pedal harpists to perform in Ireland in the nineteenth century.

Table 5. 5 Items within scope in Townley Hall Collection

Composer	Title of Work	Irish (I) or Non-Irish (NI)	Visited Ireland? (Y/N/?)	Contained in other collection?
Bochsa, R.N.C	A fantasia for the harp in which is introduced a favorite Irish melody	NI	Y	Louisa Cane, NLI (cat), NLI (uncat)
Dussek, J.L.	St Patrick's Day, a favorite Irish air arr. for the harp	NI	N	N

5.3. Repertoire Discussion

Largely undated, subject to individual owner bias and varying significantly in terms of size and content, the five collections of pedal harp repertoire within the scope of this study are a fragmented representation of what was performed and taught on the pedal harp in Ireland in the nineteenth century. Notwithstanding the limitations that are presented by a narrow data set, it is still possible to observe tangible trends and draw legitimate conclusions, now that the integration of the pedal harp tradition into the Irish music scene has been investigated and a contextual foundation for a repertoire discussion has been laid. With an initial focus on the repertoire of Irish significance, this section discusses general trends observed from the five collections detailed in section 5.2, in cognisance of the fact that wider extrapolation of these trends will only be possible when additional collections of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire become available and are accessed.

5.3.1 Trends in repertoire of Irish significance

Repertoire of Irish significance was found to be a minor component of collections examined; for example, of three hundred and six individual harp-related items in the Louisa Cane Collection, twelve items of Irish significance were documented, accounting for less than three per cent of the entire catalogue. Similarly, in the catalogued materials of the National Library of Ireland, repertoire of Irish significance accounted for four per cent of the nineteenth-century harp catalogue. Data contained in tables 5.1-5.5 are evidence that, in the nineteenth century, Irish airs were used as source material in pedal harp repertoire by a wide variety of composers, many, but not all of whom, were practising harpists. These composers broadly fitted into three categories: Irish composers, non-Irish composers who had visited Ireland and non-Irish composers who had no ostensible connection to Ireland. The majority of foreign harpists who visited Ireland, particularly those who spent protracted periods performing and teaching in Ireland, including Bochsa, Labarre, Oberthür, Taylor, interacted in some form or other with Irish airs. The vast majority of these works were published in London, reflecting the wider geographical reach of Irish airs in the nineteenth century.⁹¹⁴

Bochsa was most prolific in terms of his contribution to this broad category of repertoire, and the Loreto Collection is the only collection not noted to contain an Irish-themed work by Bochsa.⁹¹⁵ Bochsa's 'Fantasia for the harp in which is introduced a favorite Irish melody' is the only work that is a common denominator of four collections, and this suggests that it was a particularly popular piece among amateur pedal harpists in Ireland.⁹¹⁶ Both Labarre's 'Fantasia Irlandoise' and Gerhard Taylor's 'Twenty-four Irish melodies', dedicated to his pupils in Ireland, also stand out as popular items, featuring in both NLI collections and in the Louisa Cane Collection.⁹¹⁷ Two harpists who visited Ireland, not noted to have had arrangements or fantasias of Irish airs published, were

914 Although this section focuses on repertoire from Irish collections, a slight extension of the remit to include collections catalogued outside Ireland reveals that the dissemination of this repertoire was by not restricted to Ireland. Examples include Aptommas' *Sounds from the Emerald Isle*, catalogued in the British Library, Bochsa's fantasia on 'Gramachree Molly', catalogued in the British Library, Labarre's 'A favourite Irish air on which is founded Moore's ballad 'The Last Rose of Summer' contained in IHA, Brigham Young University.

915 Note that *Introductory Exercises* by Bochsa was contained in the Phyllis Paul component of the Loreto Collection, although no works of Irish significance by Bochsa were noted.

916 Three copies were catalogued in the Louisa Cane Collection, five were documented in the National Library of Ireland, and one copy was located in the Townley Hall Collection. Note that 'favorite' is copied from text.

917 Note that a copy of this work was also catalogued in the Irish Traditional Music Archive (ITMA) and in the British Library in London.

English harpists Frederick Chatterton (1812-1894) and Elias Parish Alvars (1808-1849). In Chapter 3, it was noted that Parish Alvars performed in Ireland on one occasion, at the Antient Concert Rooms in Dublin in May 1846. While it is possible that he extemporised on Irish airs, as was contemporary fashion, no specific details of his performance have come to light. An overview of Parish Alvars' catalogue reveals that his fantasias on popular airs were almost exclusively influenced by popular operatic, as opposed to folk or nationalistic, melodies of the day.⁹¹⁸ Frederick Chatterton, on the other hand, is known to have included Irish airs in his performances in Ireland; however, there are no published versions of his arrangements in circulation.⁹¹⁹ Chatterton's older brother, John B. Chatterton, whose works were relatively prevalent in the Louisa Cane Collection, was one of a few practising professional harpists who arranged Irish airs for the pedal harp despite having no overt connection with Ireland. He may also have been the only pedal harpist, Irish or otherwise, who was influenced directly by the airs of Irish harper Turlough O'Carolan (1670-1738).⁹²⁰ English harpist Neville B. Challoner (1784-1851) and German harpist Johann M. Weippert (1775-1831) were also part of this cohort; neither is noted to have visited Ireland, yet their arrangements of Irish airs have been documented in the tables above. Non-harpists also produced arrangements and fantasias of Irish airs for the pedal harp; however, data here suggest that the standard practice was to score these works for 'harp or pianoforte', as opposed to harp alone. Scoring for either of these two instruments, which was common nineteenth-century practice, would have facilitated a wider dissemination of these works in amateur settings.

5.3.2. Source material and the nineteenth-century culture of extemporisation

The use of Irish airs as source material for arrangements, variations and fantasias was a phenomenon that was by no means confined to harp music. The nineteenth century saw the publication of a substantial quantity of this genre of repertoire for a variety of instruments and instrumental combinations and by a litany of composers, a number of whom had no ostensible connection to Ireland. In 2010, Irish pianist and musicologist

918 Mostly Italian opera. Examples are: *Introduction and Variations on Favorite Airs from 'Norma'* (1838), 'Fantaisie di Lucia sur Lamermoor' (1845) 'Souvenir de l'opera Don Pasquale' (1844).

919 Eight works by F. Chatterton have been identified in the Louisa Cane Collection, although none are of Irish significance.

920 Contained in box 5a1.5(8) in a volume inscribed with 'Louisa Cane', this work is entitled 'Hommage à Carolan. Fantasia for the harp on the most favorite Irish melodies, composed by that celebrated bard, arranged and dedicated to Miss Buschman of Brighton', published by T. Boosey in London.

Professor Úna Hunt investigated the incorporation of Irish airs into nineteenth-century piano music by examining the vast body of piano repertoire in the National Library of Ireland. Hunt referred to the Irish airs collectively as ‘the Harpers’ legacy’ on the basis that the vast majority of them could be traced to ancient Irish harping traditions.⁹²¹ As discussed in Chapter 1, what stimulated European-wide interest in Irish melodies in the nineteenth century was the work of Irish poet Thomas Moore (1779-1852), who chose harpers’ airs, largely from Bunting’s collections of Irish melodies, as the melodic basis of what would become his universally known drawing-room songs. At the pinnacle of their fame, the *Irish Melodies* were subsumed into popular culture, infiltrating concert venues and drawing rooms throughout Europe and beyond, prompting instrumentalist-composers to write and play variations, rondos and fantasias using the best-known songs. Improvisation was an integral part of performance practice in Western art music in the nineteenth century and audiences delighted in the abilities of instrumental virtuosi to extemporise and play variations on the popular melodies of the day, including well-known folk tunes and operatic airs.⁹²² Virtuoso pianists who visited Ireland, including Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870), Frédéric Kalkbrenner (1785-1849), Sigismund Thalberg (1812-1871) and Franz Liszt (1811-1886) improvised on Irish melodies, including those revived by Moore, and the results were enthusiastically received by Irish audiences.⁹²³

Hunt’s findings in relation to Irish airs in piano music can be applied to pedal harp music. Like their pianist contemporaries, pedal harpists who visited Ireland channelled their improvisation skills into Irish melodies, performing their own unique renditions, variations and fantasies and these were, for the most part, well received by Irish audiences.⁹²⁴ Bochsa was the first pedal harpist to do so in 1821, having previously honed his penchant for extemporisation in Paris and London.⁹²⁵ Data in the tables above are evidence that a proportion of this work was published, suggesting a demand for this genre of repertoire in amateur circles. Unfortunately, it is virtually impossible to reconcile that

921 See Úna Hunt, ‘The Harper’s Legacy: National Aairs and Pianoforte Music’, *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland*, Vol. 6 (2010), 3.

922 See Robin Moore. ‘The Decline of Improvisation in Western Art Music: An Interpretation of Change.’ *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 23, no. 1 (1992): 61-84.

923 See Hunt, 3-53.

924 In Chapter 2, criticisms of Bochsa’s over-embellished style were noted; in general, however, harpists were positively received in the Irish press for their renditions of Irish melodies. See Chapters 2 and 3.

925 Prior to his emigration to London in 1817, when he performed extensively in Paris for royalty and dignitaries, Bochsa is known to have habitually invited audience members to pick a particular melody at random upon which he would subsequently play extemporised variations. See Hallo, 27-28.

which was published with that which was performed. Although published works allow a certain level of insight into the various approaches to arrangement and improvisation, these may or may not be accurate representations of what was performed in live contexts.

A final point that is illuminated from the data set above is the occasional combination of an Irish air with a non-Irish air to which there was no apparent connection. The pairing of an Irish and non-Irish air was a rare phenomenon, although not exclusive to harp music.⁹²⁶ French harpist Théodore Labarre added what he termed ‘an original Russian waltz’ to his arrangement of ‘Kathleen O More’. Three copies of this work have been documented in the Louisa Cane Collection and in the National Library. Similarly, London-based harpist Johann M. Weippert (1776-1831) is noted to have juxtaposed variations of the Irish jig ‘St Patrick’s Day in the Morning’ with the ‘Ulric waltz’. One copy of this work has been located in the Louisa Cane Collection.

Table 5.6 summarises the Irish airs used as source material in nineteenth-century pedal harp composition, extracted from the five collections outlined above. The influence of Moore’s *Irish Melodies* on this particular canon of repertoire is clear, as indicated in **bold type** in the first column.

⁹²⁶ Úna Hunt points to a striking example in a piano fantasia written by Italian pianist and Dublin resident Ferdinand Panormo (dates unknown). In this work, Panormo combined ‘St Patrick’s Day in the Morning’ with ‘God Save the King’. See Hunt, 10. One such work by harpist Charles Egan has also been noted, namely Egan’s ‘Brilliant Fantasia’ introducing the favorite airs ‘The harp that once through Tara’s Halls’, ‘Doth not a meeting like this make amends’, and Mozart’s march. This work is listed on the back page of Egan’s *Harp Primer*, published in London in 1829. No hard copy of this work has been traced.

Table 5.6 Irish airs in pedal harp music within remit

Irish air	Origin	Composers who used
A Bard's Legacy	First appeared in Smollet Holden's Collection of Quick and Slow Marches, Troops, &c. (c1805) as 'The Bard's Legacy'. Moore used the tune for 'The Legacy'	G.P. Lewis
An spailpin fanach	First published in Dublin c.1791; may derive from 'The Girl I left behind me' from 'The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time' by William Chappel, 1859	J.B. Chatterton
Breathe not his name	Moore, air is 'The Brown Maid' from Bunting 1796	Logier, J.B.
Erin oh! Erin	Moore, air is 'Táimse im chodladh', first printed in Neale's Collection of the Most Celerated Irish Tunes, Dublin, c.1821. Bunting noted the air from Denis Hempson in 1792	Oberthür
Garry Owen	Melody used by Moore for 'We may roam thro' this world'	Dale, Latour
Gramachree Molly	Melody used by Thomas Moore for 'The Harp that Once'	J.B. Chatterton, C.M. Despard
Irish air	Air not identified	Pole, J.F.
Kate Kearney	Words by Lady Morgan, melody originally appeared in Bunting (1796) under the title 'The Beardless Boy'. Appeared again in Bunting (1809) as 'The Dissipated Youth'	Boleyne Reeves
Kathleen O More	Unknown	Boleyne Reeves, Labarre, SHA Marsh
Moll in the Wad	Jig, published in 'Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs, vol. 5 by James Aird,	Dale
My Lodging is on the cold ground	Used by Moore as melody for 'Believe me in thy endearing young charms'	Despard, CM
Nora Creena	Melody used by Moore for 'Lesbia hath a beaming eye'	Labarre (brilliant fantasia in LC), Bochsá?
Paddy O Rafferty	Used as melody by Thomas Moore for his poem 'Drink of this Cup'	Lewis, G.P.
Robin Adair / Aileen Aroon	Melody first appeared in print in Charles Coffey's opera 'The Beggar's Wedding' (1729). Words of Robin Adair said to have been written by Lady Caroline Keppel in 1750s. Used by Moore for 'Erin! The Tear and the Smile in thine Eyes'	Bochsá, William Reeve, T.H. Butler

Irish air	Origin	Composers who used
Rory O'More	Unknown	Bochsa (note also BR in British Library collection)
Sly Patrick	Air used by Moore for 'Has sorrow thy young days shaded'	Bochsa (reliques), Labarre (brilliant fantasia in LC)
St. Patrick's Day in the Morning	Jig; air used by Moore for 'The Prince's Day'	Weippert, Cooke, J.L. Dussek
The Brown Irish Girl	Air used by Moore for 'By that lake whose gloomy shore'	N.B. Challoner
The Coolin	Origin is disputed. A version played by Denis Hempson at 1792 Belfast Harp Festival and noted down by Bunting. Used by Moore for 'Through the last glimpse of Erin'	J.B. Chatterton & Anon
The Last Rose of Summer	Moore, taken from Bunting's 'The Young Man's Dream', played by harper Denis Hempson at Belfast Harp Festival, 1792	Oberthür, Labarre, Bochsa (a fantasia Miss Stein)
The Moreen (Minstrel boy)	Moore wrote his lyrics of 'The Minstrel Boy' to the tune of the Irish air, The Moreen.	Bochsa (reliques), Labarre (brilliant fantasia in LC)
When cold in the earth (the Limerick Lamentation)	'When cold in the earth' poem by Moore, set to the tune of Limerick Lamentation, first published in Neales' Collection of 'The most celebrated Irish tunes' (1726)	Oberthür

5.3.3. Irish composers and repertoire of Irish significance

As discussed in Chapter 4. Boleyn Reeves was the only Irish composer, harpist or otherwise, to write original repertoire for the pedal harp in the nineteenth century. This repertoire study also suggests that there were relatively few publications for the pedal harp by Irish composers.⁹²⁷ Data contained in Tables 5.1-5.5 suggest that there were only five Irish composers, including Reeves, who composed repertoire of Irish significance for

⁹²⁷ A small number of works by Irish pedal harpist Charles Egan, son of harp-maker John Egan, were noted in the National Library of Ireland, although none were noted as being of Irish significance. One work by Egan, namely 'Wake! Lady, Wake!' arranged for the harp, was located in the Loreto collection. Egan is known to have been relatively prolific as a composer, although he spent the majority of his professional life in England. A list of Egan's compositions is printed at the back of his 'Harp Primer', published in 1829. This may be accessed in the NLI.

the pedal harp.⁹²⁸ Of the four remaining composers, two were practising harpists and pedagogues, namely Charlotte Despard and G.P. Lewis. The Irish works of Despard and Lewis were located in the Joly Collection of the National Library of Ireland. In the case of Despard, the two arrangements isolated, ‘Gramahcree Molly’ and ‘My Lodging is on the Cold Ground’, appear to have constituted the sum total of Despard’s output.⁹²⁹ Lewis, on the other hand, is noted to have arranged non-Irish melodies in addition to his arrangements of ‘Paddy O Rafferty’ and ‘A Bard’s Legacy’; a Swiss air and an Indian air, also contained in the Joly Collection.⁹³⁰ All Irish works attributed to Despard and Lewis were published in Dublin, making it likely the dissemination of these works was limited to the domestic Irish market.⁹³¹ Thomas Cooke’s arrangement of ‘St Patrick’s Day in the Morning’, a rondo for harp or pianoforte, is an interesting find on the basis that Cooke himself is noted to have performed on the pedal harp on at least one occasion in 1809; in fact, he was one of the first Irish pedal harpists who performed in public.⁹³² The final composer who features in this cohort is composer, publisher and instrument maker Smollet Holden (d.1813), who published several collections of Irish airs which he scored for pianoforte or harp.⁹³³ Of the five composers listed, Boleyne Reeves was the only one who scored his work exclusively for the pedal harp as opposed to for harp or pianoforte.

928 Within the collections examined, only one other Irish composer, P.K. Moran ((1767-1831) is noted to have written works for the pedal harp. Five works by Moran were identified in the NLI collections (uncatalogued and catalogued). All of these works were scored for ‘harp or pianoforte’. ‘Suabian air for the harp or pianoforte’ by Moran was located in both NLI collections. None of Moran’s works are original, nor are they based on Irish melodies.

929 In the National Library of Ireland, the suggested publication date of these works is 1850. It is likely that they were published in c.1821, as both works are dedicated to George IV who visited Ireland that year. An advertisement for ‘New Music’ at Isaac Willis’ Harmonic Saloon and Music Circulating Library appears to corroborate a publication date of 1821. The composer of both works is listed as ‘Miss D’. See *DWR*, 29 September 1821.

930A Swiss air on which is founded the popular air ‘The Swiss boy’, arranged with an introduction and variations for the harp, dedicated to Miss O Brien of Fitzwilliam Sq, published by G.A. Hodson (n.d.) & A celebrated Indian air on which is founded the popular song of ‘O no we never mention her’, arr. with an impromptu and variations for the harp, and inscribed to Miss Maria Stapleton, published by G.A. Hodson (n.d.).

931 No works by Despard or Lewis have been noted in the British Library in London or in the International Harp Archives, for example.

932 Cooke was listed as a performer at a benefit concert for Mr McCulloch at the Theatre Royal on 8 May 1809. He is listed as performing the pedal harp accompaniment to the song ‘Hope told a flattering tale’. See programme printed in *SNL*, 5 May 1809. Thomas Simpson Cooke (1782-1848) was from a well-known musical family, and was son of Bartlett Cooke, oboist in various Dublin theatre orchestras, and owner of a music shop on Eustace Street and Sackville Street in Dublin between 1784 and c.1798. He studied composition with Giordani and at the age of fifteen became leader of the Crow-street theatre and was later appointed its musical director. He made his debut in London at the Lyceum in 1813 and was appointed musical director of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane in 1821. See Hogan, 179-186.

933 Smollet Holden was a music seller and publisher who operated from 26 Parliament Street in Dublin from c.1800-1813. See Brian Boydell. Holden, Smollet. *Dublin Music Trade* <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/211>, accessed 21 March 2018.

Even the works of Charlotte M. Despard and G.P. Lewis, both of whom were active as pedal harpists in Ireland prior to 1850, were scored for either of the two instruments, as opposed to harp alone. Table 5.7 summarises the Irish composers who composed repertoire of Irish significance for the pedal harp, extracted from the five collections examined.

Table 5. 7 Irish composers who wrote works of Irish significance for the pedal harp

Composer	Details	Repertoire
Cooke, Thomas Simpson (1782-1848)	Composer, theatre director, multi-instrumentalist	St. Patrick's Day, arranged as a rondo for the harp or pianoforte
Despard, Charlotte Maria (dates unknown)	Student of Bochsá, see Chapter 4	My Lodging is on the cold ground & Gramachree Molly
Holden, Smollet (died 1813)	Publisher, instrument maker, composer	A Collection of Irish Airs arranged for the harp or pianoforte
Lewis, GP (died 1852)	Professor of harp and pianoforte (refer to Chapter 3)	Paddy O Rafferty (NLI cat), Fantasia on favourite Irish melody The Bard's Legacy (NLI cat)
Reeves, Boleyne (1820-1905)	Harpist, composer and poet	Fantasia on Kate Kearney and Fantasia on Kathleen O More

II. CONCERT REPERTOIRE

5.4. Concert repertoire database (Appendix III)

This section considers the repertoire performed by Irish pedal harpists between 1800 and 1900, outlined in chronological order in the accompanying concert repertoire database, Appendix III. The database was assembled by gleaning repertoire data from concert programmes, habitually printed in anticipation of an event taking place, and concert reviews, published in the immediate aftermath. The function of this database is twofold. Firstly, it is a macrocosmic barometer of nineteenth-century repertoire trends in pedal harp repertoire, illuminating the oscillating popularity of various composers and the stark contrast in the repertoire performed in Ireland both before and after 1850. Secondly, it helps to contextualise repertoire of Irish significance within the broader framework of

repertoire that was performed on the pedal harp in Ireland, and, in doing so, crystallises the role of the pedal harp in the transmission of Irish airs. An ancillary function of Appendix III is that it supports discussions in Chapters 2 and 3, namely the activities of Irish pedal harpists over the course of the nineteenth century and the impact of foreign virtuosi on the development of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland. The repertoire performed by foreign pedal harpists in Ireland is not included in Appendix III on the basis that these harpists saw public performances as opportunities to promote their own work rather than the works of other composers. Including this data, therefore, served little other function than to chronicle these harpists' trips to Ireland, which have hitherto been accounted for in Chapters 2 and 3.⁹³⁴

As set out in the introduction to this thesis, this study draws on primary sources that have been digitised by the British Newspaper Archives. One of the limitations of this research methodology is the fact that it is reliant on the quality of digitisation. The offshoot of poor digital quality is that a proportion of concert repertoire data may not come to light using online newspaper archives alone; in addition, a singular approach to extracting data from digital archives is often ineffective. A striking example is Irish pedal harpist Daniel Lewis' performance of 'Fantasie' by Parish Alvars in Dublin in 1843 – likely to have been the first public performance of a work by Parish Alvars in Ireland. Reference to this performance was not extracted from British Newspaper Archives by inputting 'Parish', 'Alvars' or 'Parish Alvars' into the main digital search field; rather, it was documented by inputting 'Lewis harp'. Innumerable examples of this anomaly were encountered in this exercise and, on this basis, it is important to acknowledge that Appendix III is indicative rather than definitive and is open to augmentation. Its function within the framework of this study is sufficiently fulfilled, however, on the basis that clear repertoire patterns can be extrapolated from the data observed. The appendix is colour-coded to illuminate trends in the performance of pedal harp repertoire in Ireland; for example, performances of the works of Labarre are outlined in yellow while repertoire of Irish significance is highlighted in pink. The colour codes are helpful in observing the

934 There were, naturally, some exceptions to the phenomenon of foreign pedal harpists exclusively performing their own works. For example, at the Rotunda in 1839, in addition to premiering some of his own works, Frederick Chatterton performed Bochsa's *Mosaïque Musicale*. Concert on 31 January 1839, programme printed in *DMR*, 27 January 1839; in 1877, Oberthür is noted to have performed a *Serenade* by Parish Alvars at Cramer's Bijou Concert Rooms on Westmoreland Street. *DMR*, 22 January 1839.

dominance of various composers at particular times and the extent to which repertoire of Irish significance was performed on the pedal harp in Ireland.

5.4.1 The performance of repertoire of Irish significance on the pedal harp

Appendix III confirms that repertoire of Irish significance was, from the early 1830s onwards, an integral part of the performance culture that pertained to the pedal harp in Ireland. This is verification that this type of repertoire was not confined to the drawing rooms of the amateur pedal harp community or simply a medium through which foreign virtuosi could ingratiate themselves to Irish audiences. That Irish pedal harpists performed Irish airs on the pedal harp compounded the perpetuation of what is an abiding misnomer of this thesis, namely the mislabelling of the pedal harp as a ‘native’ Irish instrument. Appendix III suggests that, beginning in the 1830s, Irish pedal harpists initially performed fantasias on Irish airs that were composed by foreign harpists, notably those who had recently visited Ireland. For example, Labarre spent eight weeks in Ireland in 1828-1829. In January 1829, he performed his ‘Fantasia Irlandoise’, then newly published, at the Rotunda.⁹³⁵ Eliza Ashe, Boleyne Reeves and Cecelia Ashe are all noted to have performed ‘Fantasia Irlandoise’, in 1829, 1830 and 1831 respectively, indicating that this work was only popular in the immediate and short-term aftermath of Labarre’s visit. It seems likely that Boleyne Reeves also performed this work at the Theatre Royal in Cork in 1830. A review in the *Cork Constitution* cited Reeves’ rendition of Labarre’s fantasia on ‘My lodging is on the cold ground’, the air upon which ‘Fantasia Irlandoise’ is based.⁹³⁶ In total, five copies of ‘Fantasia Irlandoise’ have been located in collections of Irish pedal harp repertoire, corroborating its popularity among Irish pedal harpists. Another Irish fantasia popular among Irish pedal harpists in the 1830s was ‘Erin’s Bardic Effusions’, composed by Bochsa in 1829 and performed by him for the first time that year at the King’s Theatre in London.⁹³⁷ This work was also performed by Mary Jane Glover in Ireland in both 1857 and 1858.⁹³⁸ The popularity of ‘Erin’s Bardic Effusions’ as a concert piece in Ireland suggests that it was widely disseminated among Irish pedal

⁹³⁵ *SNL*, 12 January 1829.

⁹³⁶ *CC*, 11 November 1830.

⁹³⁷ *London Evening Standard*, 29 June 1829 ‘It was composed for the occasions and was founded upon some of the popular Irish melodies.’

⁹³⁸ See Appendix III.

harpists. A version of this work, scored as a duet for harp and piano, is contained in the catalogued items of the National Library.

As the century progressed, Irish pedal harpists increasingly incorporated unattributed arrangements of Irish airs into their performances, as opposed to fantasias and arrangements of Irish airs by foreign composers. It seems reasonable to postulate that these arrangements were either self-arranged, arranged by a teacher or, in cases where the melodies were from Moore's recent publications, modified for the pedal harp from piano transcriptions. G.P. Lewis regularly performed Irish airs at his Rotunda concerts in the 1830s and 1840s. In 1835, for example, he performed a 'harp solo in which is introduced a favourite Irish air'. Two works that fit this description, arranged by Lewis, were identified in the catalogued materials of the National Library of Ireland, namely 'Paddy O Rafferty' and 'A Bard's Legacy'. The Glover sisters, Mary Jane and Emilie, who were active in Ireland after 1850, also included Irish airs in their performances. Emilie occasionally performed her teacher Aptommas' 'Sounds from the Emerald Isle' in the late 1860s. This work was a fusion of three of Moore's *Irish Melodies*: 'The Last Rose of Summer', 'Believe me if thy endearing young charms' and 'St. Patrick's Day'.⁹³⁹ Aptommas was active in Ireland in 1864, 1865 and 1869.⁹⁴⁰ Emilie Glover is known to have performed her own arrangements of Irish airs on pedal harp, notably a work entitled 'Erin', scored as a duet for harp and piano, which she premiered at the Exhibition Palace in 1869.⁹⁴¹ Perhaps influenced by 'Sounds from the Emerald Isle', this work was also based on three of Moore's melodies, 'Let Erin remember the days of old', 'Fly not yet' and 'Love's young dream'. Emilie's sister, Mary Jane, is also noted to have performed 'Erin' with Professor Glover at a Grand Concert at the Antient Concert Room in 1870.⁹⁴² Mary Jane, in contrast to her sister, does not appear to have had any arrangements of Irish airs published; however, that she arranged Irish airs for the pedal harp herself is suggested in a review of the inaugural Irish Harp Revival Concert at the Rotunda in 1879, published

939 The individual airs in this piece were listed in the *Oxford Times*, 9 May 1868 in a review of two of Aptommas' recent concerts at the Clarendon Assembly Rooms.

940 No reference of Lloyd performing the work has been identified, although the possibility that Lloyd performing the work under a different name, e.g. 'Fantasia on Irish airs' in 1885, should not be ruled out.

941 A copy of 'Erin' is contained in the British Library in London, but has not been found in any of the pedal harp collections identified in a scoping study.

942 No works by Emilie Glover have been located in Irish collections, although 'Erin' and two separate works attributed to her, neither of which are of Irish significance, have been located in the British Library in London. These are: 'La Traviata, brilliant fantasia for harp and piano, published by Edwin Ashdown in 1890 and 'O Sacrum Convivium', published in London (publisher not specified) in 1874.

in the *Dublin Weekly Nation*. In this review, she was commended for her arrangement of Irish airs for harp and piano, again performed with Professor Glover.⁹⁴³ In 1876, she performed a rendition of Moore's 'The Last Rose of Summer' at the Grattan Memorial Concert at the Antient Concert Rooms. The following year, in 1877, she performed a selection of Irish airs as harp duets with her sister Emilie at the National Music Festival at the Exhibition Palace.⁹⁴⁴ The Glover sisters collaborated at yet another Irish musical celebration in 1879 – an evening concert the Exhibition Palace commemorating the centenary of the birth year of Thomas Moore.⁹⁴⁵ At this event, and indeed a second concert held three nights later owing to public demand, they performed Irish melodies as harp duets accompanied on the piano, including 'Carolan's concerto' and Moore's popular airs 'Nora Creina', 'The Young May Moon', 'Fly not yet' and 'The Last Rose of Summer'.⁹⁴⁶

Between 1879 and 1900, Irish pedal harpist Owen Lloyd consistently performed Irish airs on the pedal harp. In the 1890s, when Lloyd became involved in the Gaelic League, his interest in Irish language and culture intensified, although, as Appendix III affirms, he did not completely eschew the repertoire of the European pedal harp tradition. Appendix III shows that, in addition to performing Irish airs, he continued to perform the standard European repertoire of the pedal harp tradition, including works by Parish Alvars and Godefrid. A collection of Lloyd's arrangements of Irish tunes, entitled 'An Cruitire', was published by the Gaelic League in 1903.⁹⁴⁷ These were directed at practitioners of the modern Irish harping tradition that emerged in the late nineteenth century, fostered through the Gaelic League. A published compilation of this nature is evidence that Lloyd arranged Irish airs himself, making it likely that, for the most part, he performed his own arrangements of Irish airs on the pedal harp. Exceptions are in 1879, when he performed his teacher Sjöden's 'Echoes of Erin' at the Irish Harp Revival Festival, and in 1886,

943 *DWN*, 10 May 1879: 'Mrs Mackey and Professor Glover, on harp and piano respectively, won an enthusiastic encore for an exceedingly effective and brilliant arrangement by Mrs Mackey of Irish airs for those two instruments.'

944 This festival, advertised as a celebration of Irish music, was organised by Professor Glover and took place on the eve of St. Patrick's Day.

945 Note that there were two concerts as part of this celebration – one that morning, conducted by Joseph Robinson, and the evening concert, conducted by Professor Glover. *DDE*, 14 May 1879.

946 See Appendix III.

947 'An Cruitire' is a collection of Irish tunes for the Irish harp, including, for example, 'Carolan's Concerto' and 'Tabhair dom do Lámh'. On the front cover, Lloyd's name is written in Irish, 'Eoghan Laoide'. This work is catalogued in NLI <http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000103582>, accessed 12 June 2018.

when he performed Oberthür's 'Erin go Bragh', a duet with Irish pianist Charles K. Irwin at a Grand Matinée concert on Harcourt Street in Dublin. A copy of 'Erin go Bragh', which Oberthür dedicated to Mary and Annie Hogan, is contained in the Louisa Cane Collection. Aside from Lloyd in the 1880s and 1890s, students and alumni of Loreto schools also cultivated a tradition of performing Irish airs on the pedal harp. For example, Phyllis Paul, Mabel Martin and Josephine Sullivan, all of whom were taught pedal harp at Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham, performed arrangements of Irish airs in addition to the standard European repertoire of the pedal harp. It is possible that they performed Irish airs arranged by Mother Attracta Coffey, who, with Owen Lloyd, was one of the leading figures in pedal harp pedagogy in Ireland between c.1880 and 1900. In 1902, three books of Mother Attracta's arrangements of Irish airs for the pedal harp were published by the Vincent Company in London under the acronym M.A.C.⁹⁴⁸ It is probable that these arrangements were disseminated in Loreto schools prior to their official publication.

5.4.2 Concert repertoire trends

In Chapter 3, it was noted that after 1850, no Irish pedal harpist professed an affiliation to Bochsa, and this was interpreted as a sign of his diminishing influence in Ireland. Appendix III corroborates this interpretation, and illuminates the fact that, between 1850 and 1900, the repertoire of Bochsa was gradually eschewed in favour of the repertoire of his successors. From a pedagogical point of view, the likelihood is that Bochsa's repertoire was still of value between 1850 and 1900, but that in performance settings, it was considered outdated. A collection of Bochsa's 'Introductory Exercises' is contained in the Loreto Collection, and this corroborates the notion that his repertoire continued to have pedagogical significance in Loreto schools. The Loreto Collection examined in this study can be traced to Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham; however, it should be noted that Loreto students in Fermoy, Cork also regularly performed works by Bochsa between 1859 and 1868, again indicating the pedagogical value of Bochsa's works in school contexts. Aside from Mrs Mackey (then Mary Jane Glover) in the 1850s, no professional Irish harpist is noted to have performed repertoire by Bochsa in the period 1850-1900. Similarly, the repertoire of Labarre was popular in Ireland before 1850; however, only

948 Mother Attracta Coffey (M.A.C.), *Irish Airs* (London: Vincent Company, 1902). These were arranged in three books and dedicated to John Thomas. They were primarily based on Moore's Melodies. For example, Book 1 contains 'The Snowy Breasted Pearl', 'My Gentle Harp', 'The Young Man's Dream', 'The Coulin', 'Lough Sheelin', 'A Cushla Machree'.

one definitive incidence of his work being performed after 1850 has been noted. This was a trio for harp, violin and cello performed by Mrs Mackey, Herr Barthman and Herr Elsner at the Antient Concert Rooms in 1873.

The decline in popularity of the repertoire of Bochsá and Labarre was, of course, the organic consequence of a changing music aesthetic that was more accurately embodied in the more sophisticated and modern arrangements of Oberthür and Parish Alvars. Although there is no doubt that Bochsá and Labarre laid the foundations for a new performance style and encouraged a generation of virtuosi to capitalise on the harmonic resources of the double-action instrument, it was only natural that their repertoire was gradually replaced, in public performance contexts, in favour of more modern trends. Appendix III establishes that between 1850 and 1900, pedal harpists in Ireland were attuned to contemporary trends in harp repertoire and increasingly incorporated the works of Oberthür, Parish Alvars, John Thomas and Godefroid into concert programmes. In Chapter 4, the importance of a trio of Irish pedal harpists, namely Mary Jane Glover, Emilie Glover and Owen Lloyd, in the maintenance and propagation of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland was established. By performing the repertoire of contemporary composers, these harpists ensured that the pedal harp tradition evolved in parallel with its evolution in London.

The permeation of the repertoire of Parish Alvars in Appendix III is interesting, given that, unlike Oberthür and Bochsá, who spent protracted periods in Ireland at the pinnacle of their respective careers, Parish Alvars came to Ireland only once. His brief visit would have had negligible impact on the pedal harp tradition in Ireland, particularly in light of the fact that his performance was for the Philharmonic Society and thereby only accessible to a select audience. There is also no evidence that Parish Alvars taught any Irish students during his visit. Appendix III illuminates the striking popularity among Irish pedal harpists of Parish Alvars' single-movement work 'La Danse des Fées'. Although outside the scope of Appendix III, foreign professionals who travelled to Ireland also performed the work, among them Mr Steather (1877), Herr Sjödéń (1879), Madame Sacconi (1880) and Mr Ffrench Davis (1883).⁹⁴⁹ Ireland's leading trio of pedal harpists regularly included this piece in concert performances between 1850 and 1900; for example, Mary Jane Glover was the first Irish pedal harpist to perform the work at the

⁹⁴⁹ *DDE*, 5 May 1877; *FJ*, 3 May 1879; *IT*, 17 January 1880; *Belfast Telegraph*, 27 February 1883.

Antient Concert Rooms in March 1857, Emilie performed it at her debut solo recital at her residence in 1868, and Owen Lloyd is noted to have included the work in a number of his recitals in the 1880s.⁹⁵⁰ Richard Levey, son of one of Ireland's leading violinists R.M. Levey, performed 'La Danse des Fées' at his debut for the Philharmonic Society in 1855.⁹⁵¹ In the 1880s and 1890s, students and alumni of the Loreto schools are also noted to have performed the work.⁹⁵² Although there is no way of interpreting the proficiency of individual harpists who performed during this period, it should be noted that 'La Danse des Fées' is an advanced-level work that requires technical adeptness.⁹⁵³

What may have helped the transmission and dissemination of Parish Alvars' repertoire in Ireland is the fact that it was afforded a public platform by at least four leading virtuosi, namely Oberthür, Aptommas, Adolf Sjödén and Frederick Chatterton.⁹⁵⁴ To reiterate, it was unusual for foreign pedal harpists to promote anything other than their own compositions. On this basis, it is a testament to Parish Alvars' influence as a composer, and the esteem in which he was held in the professional harp community, that his repertoire was publicly performed by his contemporaries. It is likely that Parish Alvars' repertoire made its way into the hands of Irish students through their foreign teachers; for example, both Emilie Glover and Owen Lloyd are known to have studied with Aptommas, while Lloyd is also noted to have studied with Sjödén.⁹⁵⁵ Edith Davis, who studied pedal harp with Oberthür, is also noted to have performed a 'Romance' by Parish Alvars in 1894.⁹⁵⁶ The Louisa Cane Collection contains seventeen individual pieces by Parish Alvars, and this may indicate that Cane's teacher, Oberthür, endorsed the performance of the English virtuoso's repertoire. The repertoire of Parish Alvars is also contained in the Loreto Collection; of forty-nine items traceable to Phyllis Paul, nine were

950 *FJ*, 23 March 1868.

951 *SNL*, 2 July 1855.

952 See Appendix III.

953 'La Danse des Fées' was an original work by Parish Alvars, published by Boosey&Co. in London in 1844. Upon its publication, *The Musical World* described it as 'a charming bagatelle, sparkling with melody, and evincing many new effects. Though simple and unassuming, it has difficulties for the harpist, which require some perseverance to master'. See *The Musical World*, Volume XIX, 1 January 1844.

954 In September 1861, Oberthür performed two of Parish Alvars' works at the Misses Leischmans' concert on Fitzwilliam Street in Dublin: Serenade and Concerto in E major. *DDE*, 6 September 1861. In March 1864, Aptommas performed Concerto in E flat at a Philharmonic Society concert in Dublin. *DDE*, 15 March 1864. In November 1867 Chatterton performed two works by Parish Alvars, 'Chanson sans paroles' and 'The Greek Pirate's Chorus' at the Antient Concert Rooms. *IT*, 7 November 1867. Sjödén performed Turkish Parade March by Parish Alvars at the Irish Harp Revival Festival at Rotunda in 1879. *FJ*, 3 May 1879.

955 Owen Lloyd's Matinee Musicale at 18 Harcourt Street included a performance of Parish Alvars' 'La Danse des Fées'. *FJ*, 15 April 1886.

956 *Belfast Newsletter*, 22 Feb 1894 Davis also performed 'Ballade and March' by Hasselmans.

composed by Parish Alvars. On loaning the collection in 2016, Sheila Larchet Cuthbert usefully pointed out that all nine of these works were in fact edited by Welsh harpist John Thomas. Thomas himself did not visit Ireland at any point over the course of his career; however, both Mother Attracta and Phyllis Paul are noted, by Larchet Cuthbert, to have studied with him. It is also worth pointing out that Mother Attracta dedicated her first publication of 'Irish Melodies', six arrangements of Moore's Melodies for the pedal harp, to Thomas in 1902.⁹⁵⁷ Thomas' link to Mother Attracta and Phyllis Paul explains the prominence of his works, and indeed editions, in the Loreto Collection. It is likely that this collection dates from the 1890s, given that pedal harpists who were Loreto alumni, including Phyllis Paul who owned a portion of the collection, were active as performers during this decade. The concert repertoire database confirms that performance of Thomas' works in Ireland was a phenomenon of the period 1880-1900, proving that Loreto students were attuned to contemporary standards. The first performance of a work by John Thomas in Ireland was 'Autumn', performed by Emilie Grey (née Glover) in 1880. This work was performed again by Mrs Boyle, from Roscommon, in Sligo in 1885. Josephine Sullivan, a former Loreto student, appears to have had a particular penchant for Thomas' compositions in the 1890s, and she is documented as having performed 'Reverie', 'Watching the Wheat', and a selection of Irish and Welsh melodies that he arranged for pedal harp.

Oberthür's repertoire was perhaps on a par with that of Parish Alvars in terms of the regularity of its performance in Ireland between 1850 and 1900. However, unlike Parish Alvars, Oberthür's influence in Ireland, in terms of the dissemination of his repertoire, tallies with the fact that he spent long periods of time in Dublin over a forty-year timespan and built up a network of Irish students. Owen Lloyd chose a transcription of a Bohemian national air by Oberthür for his debut performance in Dublin in 1879 and continued to perform the repertoire of Oberthür over the course of his career. Both Emilie and Mary Jane Glover included Oberthür's repertoire in their concerts; in fact, Mrs Mackey performed Oberthür's arrangement of 'Home Sweet Home' during one of her last appearances in Dublin, which was an evening concert at the Exhibition Palace in 1882. The dedication from Oberthür to Louisa Cane in 1857 implies that students were learning

957 Book 1 Irish Melodies arranged for the harp. M.A.C. (acronym for Mother Attracta Coffey), published by Vincent Co. in London, and by Oliver Ditson Company in the United States. Viewed at [https://imslp.org/wiki/Irish_melodies_for_Harp_\(Vincent%2C_Charles\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Irish_melodies_for_Harp_(Vincent%2C_Charles)), accessed 17 September 2019.

the works of Oberthür in or around this time, although the first definitive record of a work by Oberthür being performed in Ireland is from 1865, when students of the Loreto convent in Fermoy, Cork performed ‘L’echo de l’opera’, a duet for harp and piano at a lunchtime concert. Given that Oberthür had visited Ireland four times at this point and was a popular teacher, it is likely that there were performances of his works, solo or otherwise, before this. In any case, it is clear that Oberthür’s duets and chamber works were a welcome addition to the repertory and facilitated greater interaction between Irish musicians, particularly in convent schools where pedal harp was taught. Oberthür’s quartet for four harps on Irish national airs, referred to in Chapter 3, was performed by Loreto students at a concert at Rathfarnham Abbey in 1893. Owen Lloyd regularly collaborated with pianists and string players in the performance of Oberthür’s chamber works. In 1886, Lloyd performed Oberthür’s harp and piano duet ‘Erin go Bragh’ with popular Irish pianist C.K. Irwin, and ‘La Prière’ for harp and violin with violinist Herr Carl Lauer, a teacher at the Royal Irish Academy of Music, at his *Matinée Musicale* on Harcourt Street.⁹⁵⁸

A final point worth observing in the accompanying concert repertoire database is the popularity of Belgian harpist Félix Godefroid’s ‘La danse des Sylphes’ amongst Irish pedal harpists between 1886 and 1900. This work was performed at least six times by Owen Lloyd, three times by Annie Devine, and once each by Mabel Martin and Josephine Sullivan. Although it is not known where Miss Devine studied pedal harp, both Martin and Sullivan were students of Loreto in Rathfarnham, suggesting that this piece was taught in Loreto schools.⁹⁵⁹ Godefroid, who died in 1897, spent prolonged periods in London in his early career, although, unusually for a harpist of his ilk who was based in London in the nineteenth century, he did not travel to Ireland.⁹⁶⁰ Like the repertoire of Parish Alvars, therefore, Godefroid’s repertoire was, in all likelihood, brought to Ireland by harpists who travelled from London to perform and teach. Prior to Lloyd performing ‘La danse des Sylphes’ for the first time in 1886, it was performed by a number of foreign virtuosi in Ireland, including Herr Sjöden, Lloyd’s teacher, and Madame Frost, who

⁹⁵⁸ *FJ*, 12 April 1886.

⁹⁵⁹ Article in *Wexford People*, 19 March 1892. Mabel Martin, described as daughter of Dr Martin, 7 Harcourt Street, is noted to have secured a scholarship to study harp at the Royal College of Music in London. ‘She is a pupil of Loretto Abbey Rathfarnham and has been studying that instrument for the last three years, her instructress being one of the nuns’. Refer to Chapter 3 for information on Josephine Sullivan.

⁹⁶⁰ A digital search of British Newspaper Archives suggests that Godefroid was in London in 1841, 42, 45, 46, 47, 50 and 56.

taught at the Royal Irish Academy of Music.⁹⁶¹ Herr Sjöden first performed ‘La Danse des Sylphes’ at the inaugural concert of the Irish Harp Revival Festival at the Rotunda in 1879, while Madame Frost is noted to have performed the work in both 1882 and 1889.⁹⁶² Rosalind Sacconi (1848-1915), the Italian harpist, also performed the work at the Exhibition Palace in 1880.⁹⁶³ That Irish pedal harpists habitually performed the work is a testament to the influence of foreign virtuosi on the dissemination of pedal harp repertoire in Ireland in the nineteenth century, and the degree to which an imported tradition was reliant on visiting musicians.

5.5. Correlating collection and concert data

In the infancy of this study, it was conjectured that library collections would offer a wealth of information in relation to pedal harp repertoire in Ireland that would ultimately be endorsed by archival research. For example, it was initially presumed that the wide variety of harp music in the National Library of Ireland would represent the broadest range of repertoire performed and taught in Ireland between 1800 and 1900. This presumption was on the basis that the library’s music collections contained hundreds of items acquired through multiple sources over many years. However, a concert repertoire database has proved that the NLI collections of pedal harp repertoire do not reflect the changing landscape of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland over the entire nineteenth century, but instead illuminate the repertoire that was disseminated in the period 1800-1850. A striking example of this is the fact that, of over one thousand musical scores connected to the harp in the published catalogue of the NLI, one hundred and three are attributable to Bochsa (approximately ten per cent). In contrast, a total of four musical scores are attributable to Oberthür, Parish Alvars and Godefroid, who were the most popular composers in Ireland, in terms of what was performed by Irish pedal harpists,

961 Note that Sjöden, Frost and Sacconi were, unlike Bochsa, Oberthür, Labarre and Taylor, not renowned as ‘harpist-composers’, and so it was not out of place that they performed the repertoire of other harpist-composers.

962 Madame Frost performed at Aptommas’ Harp Concerts in March 1882. *IT*, 3 March 1882 and Dublin Orchestral Union Concert at ACR in April 1889. *DDE*, 30 March 1889.

963 Sacconi first performed in London in 1879 at Sir Julius Benedict’s Grand Morning Concert at St. James’ Hall on 18 June. See concert programme, in which Sacconi’s performance is described as her ‘first appearance in England’ printed in *Pall Mall Gazette*, 17 June 1879. She is noted to have performed in Ireland in 1880 (Her Majesty’s Opera Company concert at the Exhibition Palace, 12 January 1880 and at the Belfast Philharmonic Society concert at the Ulster Hall, 16 January 1880). See *DDE*, 12 January 1880 and *Belfast Morning News*, 14 January 1880. In 1887, Sacconi performed at the Italian concert at Leinster Hall by Mr Mapleson’s Opera Company. See review of concert in *FJ*, 7 January 1887.

between 1850 and 1900. This thought process may be similarly applied to the Townley Hall Collection which, as indicated earlier, contains pedal harp repertoire that was published prior to 1830.

In terms of the Loreto Collection, it is reasonable to construe that it is representative of what was taught at Loreto schools in Dublin in the 1890s. Phyllis Paul, who owned a portion of the collection, is noted to have performed publicly in Dublin on at least three occasions in the 1890s. In 1893, for example, she performed Parish Alvars' 'Il Papagallo' at a lunchtime concert facilitated by the Royal Irish Academy of Music and it is interesting to note her marked-up copy of this work amongst the contents of her collection. As for the remainder of the collection, namely the six volumes acquired by Professor Clíona Doris, it is more difficult to approximate a date as the books belonged to the school, rather than an individual harpist. The fact that one volume, namely a collection of John Thomas' 'Welsh Melodies', was inscribed by Thomas may suggest that the collection originally belonged to Mother Attracta Coffey, perhaps prior to joining the Loreto order.⁹⁶⁴ In any case, that the books belonged to Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham, is sufficient evidence to suggest that the repertoire was taught there.

In this study, the Louisa Cane Collection was the collection most valuable to the study of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire in Ireland. Containing the repertoire of the most popular harpist-composers in Ireland in 1850-1900, in addition to repertoire of harpist-composers who reached the pinnacle of their success prior to 1850, this collection contains the widest spectrum of pedal harp repertoire that was performed in Ireland over the course of the nineteenth century, corroborated in the accompanying repertoire database. A striking example of this is the fact that it is the only Irish collection noted to contain a copy of 'La Danse des Fées', the most frequently performed work on pedal harp in Ireland between 1850 and 1900. The works of Bochsa feature strongly in the Louisa Cane Collection; in fact, at ninety-seven items, they outnumber the works of Oberthür, Cane's teacher, by a margin of seven. A concert repertoire database has established that the pedagogical significance of Bochsa's repertoire exceeded its performance significance after 1850; therefore, to see the dominance of the works of Bochsa in an amateur harpist's collection who was active after 1850 is not entirely surprising. That the

964 The inscription, written on the top left-hand corner of the first page in this volume, reads 'M. Attracta from Mr J. Thomas'. The volume is labelled on the hardback cover 'Welsh Melodies for the harp by John Thomas Volume II.'

contents of the Louisa Cane Collection paved a number of important research trajectories, including, for example, the relevance of Boleyn Reeves in Irish pedal harp studies, was a strong rationale for cataloguing this collection into RISM. Aside from a dedication dated 1857, there is no other indication of when this music was acquired by Cane.

Incongruities between the concert repertoire database and repertoire data extrapolated from the NLI serve as a reminder of the limitations of using collections of repertoire in isolation as a research tool, and the importance of corroborative sources of information. The five collections of repertoire that underpin this chapter are snapshots of the wide spectrum of harp repertoire performed and taught in Ireland over a one-hundred-year timespan. Individually these collections offer insight into the popularity of various composers and the prominence, or lack thereof, of items of Irish interest; however, a more holistic narrative will be enriched only by accessing additional collections and corroborating trends observed thus far. Fundamental differences among the five collections examined need also be considered as part of this discourse; for example, the Louisa Cane and Loreto collections are comprehensive collections of harp music, reflecting the fact that the repertoire belonged to, and was performed by, practising harpists. In contrast, harp repertoire only accounts for 11% of the Townley Hall music collection.⁹⁶⁵ While it is possible that a resident of Townley Hall was a proficient harpist, it is equally possible that the former owner of the collection was simply an avid music collector and that the repertoire was arbitrarily amalgamated or, alternatively, inherited. Without information pertaining to the origins of the repertoire, its former owner(s) and whether or not it was habitually used, it is difficult to draw tangible conclusions based on the contents of the collection alone. Information pertaining to former owners can offer useful insights; for example, if the harp music belonged to a single amateur harpist, this might explain a penchant for a particular composer, perhaps a teacher, or explain the standard (level of difficulty) of repertoire in the collection. The Louisa Cane Collection is a striking example of this trend, with Oberthür's works accounting for almost a quarter of all items in the collection. The popularity of Oberthür's works was not replicated in any other collection examined in this study and this is at odds with Oberthür's popularity in Ireland as a performer, and, as shown in Appendix III, the integration of his repertoire into the Irish pedal harp tradition. The issue of owner bias may also be factor in the Loreto

⁹⁶⁵ The remainder of the collection is a mix of solo piano repertoire, solo flute repertoire, vocal music, violin and cello repertoire.

Collection, particularly the component traced to Phyllis Paul, which is predominated by the works and editions of John Thomas, noted to have been her teacher.

III PERFORMANCE

5.6 Repertoire

5.6.1. *Classification of repertoire*

The six tracks on the accompanying recording detailed in table 5.8, were selected on the basis that, as a collective, they embody the spectrum of approaches to incorporating Irish airs into pedal harp repertoire in the nineteenth century. Study and performance of this repertoire over the course of this project has established that it broadly encompasses three categories, outlined as follows:

1. **Arrangements:** This category includes Irish airs arranged for the pedal harp in a simple style, without variation or embellishment, where there is virtually no departure from the original melody. In this study, it is occupied entirely by the three publications of English harpist Gerhard Taylor, collectively referred to as ‘Twenty-four Irish melodies for the harp’, published by Marcus Moses in Dublin in 1857.⁹⁶⁶ The first two tracks on the accompanying recording, ‘Bid thy exiled bard return’ and ‘The days are gone’, were chosen as paragons of Taylor’s approach to this genre of repertoire.⁹⁶⁷ The simplicity of these arrangements, both from a harmonic and technical point of view, is at variance with the virtuosic style of repertoire, suffused with contemporary harp effects, that was widespread in pedal harp music composed at this time. It should be considered, however, that Taylor’s unadorned approach may have been influenced by the amateur market at which his publications were targeted, namely ‘his pupils in Ireland’.
2. **Variations:** This category incorporates the bulk of the repertoire of Irish significance within the remit of this study and encompasses the widest spectrum of composers. It includes the works of foreign virtuosi who visited Ireland, among them Bochsá and Labarre; virtuoso harpists who had no ostensible connection to

966 Note that these were later published also by Edwin Ashdown in London in 1880.

967 Taylor also composed a ‘Fantasia for the harp on favorite Irish melodies’ and ‘Two favorite Irish melodies known as ‘Coolin’ and ‘The Minstrel Boy’ arranged with variations for the harp’. These are contained in the British Library catalogue.

Ireland, including J.B. Chatterton; and Irish pedal harpists active in Ireland prior to 1850, including Boleyne Reeves, Charlotte Despard and G.P. Lewis. The archetypal structure of works within this category is as follows: the Irish melody is presented simply to start, sometimes preceded by an introduction, then subsequently developed in some capacity, usually through some type of variation form. Reeves' Irish variations are also unadventurous, although, in contrast to Lewis and Despard, his compositional style is not exclusively restricted to Irish variations, meaning his legacy as a composer is not defined by these arrangements. Two pieces (tracks 2 to 3) have been chosen as representative of this category of repertoire: a rondo on the air 'Paddy O'Rafferty', which embodies simple variation form, and a more expansive and ambitious variation form by Bochsa, incorporating three Irish tunes, 'Sly Patrick, 'an old war march' and 'The Minstrel Boy'. In all instances, the repertoire in this category was found to be suitable for single- and double-action harps and is stylistic precursor to the 'fantasias' on Irish melodies composed by Charles Oberthür.

3. **Fantasias:** In this instance, the term 'fantasia' is taken as representing an improvisatory style of composition wherein the Irish melody is the inspiration, rather than the sole focus, of the work. Based on a study of Irish collections of pedal harp repertoire, this category includes three works by Charles Oberthür, 'Erin oh! Erin' and 'Erin go Bragh', both contained in the Louisa Cane Collection, and 'The Limerick Lamentation', contained in the Loreto Collection.⁹⁶⁸ Harmonically adventurous, technically demanding and replete with nineteenth-century harp effects, these works were composed exclusively for the double-action pedal harp and stylistically embody the repertoire that was associated with the pedal harp in the period c.1845-1900. Tracks 5 and 6, from the Louisa Cane and Loreto Collection respectively, are evidence that Oberthür's engagement with Irish melody was contemporary within the wider sphere of the repertoire deemed 'of Irish significance'. This was, of course, a reflection of his prominence as a harpist in the second, as opposed to the first, half of the nineteenth century, during which variation form was increasingly eschewed in favour of stand-alone character pieces, where the focus shifted to development as opposed to reiteration of one idea in various guises.

968 Note that 'Erin go Bragh' is a duet for harp and piano.

5.6.2. Track listing

The following table summarises the tracks recorded as an integrated component of this chapter. These recordings may be accessed by clicking on the playlist entitled ‘Nineteenth-century repertoire of the Irish pedal harp tradition’ at <https://soundcloud.com/clare-mc-cague>. The six tracks listed in the table correspond to Tracks 5 to 10 in the *Soundcloud®* playlist. As in table 5.6., Moore’s melodies are highlighted in **bold type**, to illuminate their prominence in this repertoire.

Table 5.8 Track listing

Title of work	Composer	Publishing details	Collection	Category
1. Twenty-four Irish Melodies: Bid Thy Exiled Bard Return	Gerhard Taylor	Marcus Moses, Dublin, 1857	LC, NLI (cat), NLI (uncat)	Arrangements
2. Twenty-four Irish Melodies: The Days are Gone	Gerhard Taylor	Marcus Moses, Dublin, 1857	LC, NLI (cat), NLI (uncat)	Arrangements
3. Reliques Irlandaises, favourite Irish national strains	R.N.C. Bochsa	D’Almaine & Co, London, ?	LC, NLI (cat), NLI (uncat)	Variations
4. Paddy O’Rafferty, a celebrated Irish air arranged as a rondo for the pedal harp or pianoforte	G.P. Lewis	G.P. Lewis, 2 Gordon’s Lane, Portobello, Dublin	NLI (cat)	Variations
5. Erin oh! Erin, melodie Irlandaise favorite transcribed for the harp, Opus 183	Charles Oberthür	Schott & Co, London, ?	LC	Fantasias
6. When Cold in the Earth / The Limerick Lamentation, Opus 347	Charles Oberthür	C.F. Kahnt Nachfolger, Leipzig, ?	Loreto Collection	Fantasias

5.7 Concluding remarks

Using collection data and a concert repertoire database, this study observes trends in the repertoire performed by Irish pedal harpists between 1800 and 1900. In addition, it foregrounds a catalogue of repertoire of Irish significance that has hitherto been uncharted

in contemporary scholarship. Through performance, a representative selection of this repertoire has been revitalised and disseminated. The accompanying recording to this chapter serves as a reminder of the unique catalogue of works, inspired by Irish airs, at the heart of the nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition in Ireland. That these and similar works were consistently performed on the pedal harp over the course of the nineteenth century was fundamental in proliferating the inaccurate conflation of Irish and pedal harp traditions. It is somewhat ironic that art music and non-indigenous instrumental traditions, and the practitioners thereof, were central to the publicity and popularity of indigenous melodies in Ireland. A holistic understanding of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland validates its role in the transmission of Irish airs, channelled through the multitude of arrangements, variations and fantasias composed by Irish and foreign pedal harpists alike.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study was undertaken for two reasons: firstly, to harness innate curiosity, as an Irish concert harpist, about the history and repertoire of the nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition in Ireland, and secondly, to address the significant lacuna in research on nineteenth-century harp traditions in Ireland. As a repertoire-centred exercise, the original concept of this study was to produce an annotated compendium of Irish pedal harp repertoire, to catalogue this repertoire through RISM in the interests of public accessibility, and to record a representative selection of this repertoire for public dissemination. However, this concept was reimagined at an early stage for a number of reasons, all of which were guided by examining five collections of pedal harp repertoire within remit. In the first instance, there was little evidence that Irish composers had contributed a significant number of works to the canon of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire. This sufficiently weakened the rationalisation for an annotated compendium of this repertoire alone. Secondly, evidence that foreign pedal harpists had composed a considerable body of repertoire ‘of Irish significance’ merited further investigation. Finally, a detailed examination of the Louisa Cane Collection, in parallel with newspaper research, paved new research trajectories. Of utmost significance was the fact that the pedal harp tradition was integrated into nineteenth-century Irish musical life to a degree that had scarcely been acknowledged, lest explored, in contemporary scholarship. Separate to this was the fact that there was no modern reflection on the life, career and compositions of Irish pedal harpist Boleyne Reeves, in spite of the fact that Reeves was, in a European context, the most successful Irish pedal harpist of the nineteenth century.

In order to accommodate these new research trajectories, a reconfiguration of the original parameters of this study was necessary. In the first instance, a systematic approach to extracting content from Irish newspaper archives was adopted, as described in the methodology of this thesis, to ensure that the widest possible spectrum of pedal harp activity in Ireland was captured. The term ‘pedal harp activity’ was defined as any form of activity related to performance, teaching or trade that could be reasonably interpreted as indicators of a tangible pedal harp tradition in Ireland. Secondly, in relation to Boleyne Reeves, it was necessary to extend the scope of newspaper research to include British newspapers published outside Ireland, in order to account for Reeves’ activity as a pedal

harpist in the environs of London. This was instrumental in both corroborating and enriching Reverend McGovern's research and in validating Reeves' success as a performer in a wider British and European context. Finally, a revised criteria for selecting repertoire for the performance aspect of this study was adopted, in line with emerging research trajectories. In deference to Boleyne Reeves' unique position in the context of this study, four original compositions by Reeves were recorded as an integrated component of Chapter 4. Similarly, as part of a wider discussion on pedal harp repertoire of Irish significance, six works were recorded as an integrated component of Chapter 5. These pieces were selected to illustrate a specific genre of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire founded on ancient Irish airs and songs.

In its completed form, this study is a narration of the European pedal harp tradition in Ireland, a tradition that has been entangled in the fabric of the Irish art-music scene from the 1790s until the present day. At the heart of this narrative (Chapters 1-3) are the personalities and institutions on which the development of the tradition relied, and the social and cultural climate in which the tradition evolved. Enriching the narrative is a repertoire study (Chapter 5), which amalgamates collection and concert data, identifies repertoire trends specific to the pedal harp tradition in Ireland, and isolates and performs repertoire of Irish significance. Technically outside the geographical parameters of this study, a case study on Cork-born pedal harpist Boleyne Reeves (Chapter 4), who spent his professional life in England, is a stand-alone output of this study. A dedicated chapter to Reeves serves to highlight his significance, not just as an Irish pedal harpist, but also an Irish emigrant performer and composer who had tangible success outside Ireland.

The conclusion of this thesis revisits the four core elements of the nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition in Ireland (practitioners, pedagogy, trade and repertoire) in order to address two research questions:

1. What was the significance of the nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition in Ireland?
2. What do collections reveal about the repertoire of the tradition, including repertoire of Irish significance?

A third research question, concerning the interaction of Irish and pedal harp traditions, is addressed outside the framework of these four core elements, in section 6.5. The legacy of Boleyne Reeves – an additional and significant finding of this study – is considered in

section 6.6. Final reflections and suggestions for future research are outlined in section 6.7.

6.1 Practitioners

Between c.1790 and 1900, the development and proliferation of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland was driven by three categories of pedal harpist practitioner: foreign virtuosi who travelled to Ireland to perform and to teach, Irish pedal harpists who performed in public and advertised their teaching services in the local press, and amateur Irish pedal harpists, with no public profile, who practised the pedal harp tradition in private settings. Performing in Ireland's leading concert venues, foreign and Irish pedal harpists with a public profile enriched Irish music life, and, in their collaborations with other instrumentalists and vocalists, ensured that the pedal harp tradition was absorbed into the fabric of day-to-day concert culture. In generating press attention, these harpists also helped to stimulate interest in the pedal harp tradition in amateur circles. Out of public view, the amateur pedal harp community was integral to the survival of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland, propelling a demand for instruments, tuition and sheet music.

6.1.1 Foreign virtuosi

Throughout the nineteenth century, Ireland hosted an impressive number of Europe's leading pedal harpists and these virtuosi had a profound impact on the development of Ireland's pedal harp tradition. Ireland benefitted immensely from its geographical proximity to London, which was a European centre of pedal harp activity throughout the nineteenth century. By 1850, French harpists R.N.C. Bochsa and Théodore Labarre and English harpists Frederick Chatterton and Elias Parish Alvars had performed in Ireland, having travelled from London, where they were then based. Between 1850 and 1900, this trend continued, and Irish concert venues and societies hosted, among others, English harpist Gerhard Taylor, Bavarian harpist Charles Oberthür, Swedish harpist Adolf Sjöden and Welsh harpist Thomas Thomas (Aptommas). Through public performance, foreign pedal harpists showcased the latest techniques and repertoire, and set a performance standard to which Irish pedal harpists could aspire. Their performances also generated publicity for the pedal harp, which, in turn, had positive implications for the Irish pedal harp trade.

A consistent traffic of foreign pedal harpists to Ireland in the period 1800-1900, not limited to those mentioned above, is evidence that there was a continuous demand for pedal harp tuition. Through private teaching, foreign pedal harpists had opportunities to inflate their income outside their performance commitments, and this ensured that Irish pedal harpists were attuned to contemporary repertoire and performance practice. Evidence suggests that foreign pedal harpists who spent protracted periods in Ireland, ranging from periods of weeks to several months, amassed loyal networks of Irish students on whom they could rely for income. Between 1800 and 1850, the most influential foreign pedal harpist to visit Ireland was Bochsa, and a considerable number of Irish pedal harpists who were active publicly professed a connection to him. Chapter 2 has outlined the importance of Irish pedal harpists Miss Kearns, Alexander de Pothonier, Charlotte Despard and Cecelia Ashe in maintaining a culture of pedal harp performance and pedagogy in Ireland in the period 1800-1850. Mrs Harrington, who was one of the predominant pedal harpists active in Ireland in the 1830s, also studied with Bochsa and proliferated his teaching methods in Dublin and Cork.

Between 1850 and 1900, foreign pedal harpists continued to have an impact on the Irish pedal harp tradition. English harpist Gerard Taylor was an annual visitor to Ireland between 1851 and 1861. In 1857, he dedicated a compilation of arrangements, 'Twenty-four Irish Melodies' to his Irish pupils, suggesting that he had amassed a network of Irish pedal harp students in Ireland. Charles Oberthür, who visited Ireland professionally at least six times between 1856 and 1895, is also known to have taught Irish pedal harp students. A connection between Oberthür and Louisa Cane, whose repertoire collection is a central component of this study, was established through a handwritten dedication on Oberthür's solo harp composition 'Meditation', dated July 1857. Over forty years later, in 1899, Cane was part of a trio of Oberthür's former students who fundraised for a prize in his honour to be included in the inaugural Feis Ceoil. This gesture suggests that Oberthür had a profound and lasting impact on his Irish students.

In reality, it is difficult to quantify the influence of individual foreign pedal harpists in Ireland when no records of private harp classes have been documented. However, it is reasonable to extrapolate that foreign pedal harpists who travelled to Ireland on more than one occasion did so with the expectation of regular teaching income. Repeated trips to Ireland by the likes of Bochsa, Taylor and Oberthür, which in most instances were anticipated by advertisements for their teaching in the press, provide tangible evidence

that there was a robust undercurrent of amateur pedal harp activity and a demand for teaching therein. Aside from Bochsá, whose students in Ireland were active and prominent members of the Irish pedal harp community between 1800 and 1850, Welsh pedal harpist Aptommas is the only other foreign pedal harpist who had a quantifiable impact on the Irish pedal harp tradition. Aptommas visited Ireland on at least twelve occasions between 1864 and 1896, and taught two of Ireland's leading pedal harpists in the period 1850-1900, Emilie Glover and Owen Lloyd. Through their performances and teaching, Glover and Lloyd promoted the pedal harp tradition all over Ireland, and continued Aptommas' legacy.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the development and endurance of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland was much less dependent on the influence of foreign virtuosi. Foreign pedal harpists continued to travel to Ireland in the 1890s, albeit to a much less frequent degree. Oberthür and Aptommas travelled to Ireland in 1895 and 1896 respectively; however, their visits did not receive the level of press interest that was generated by such visits in the past. The dwindling influence of foreign virtuosi may be attributed to the increased delivery of pedal harp tuition in homegrown institutions including convent schools and the Royal Irish Academy of Music. These institutions negated the demand for tuition in private homes and residences, which, in all likelihood, reduced the earning potential of foreign virtuosi who travelled to Ireland.

6.1.2 Irish pedal harpists with a public profile

In the absence of foreign virtuosi, Irish pedal harpists ensured that standards in performance and pedagogy were maintained and that a robust tradition of pedal harp performance and teaching was cultivated. This study has shown that Irish pedal harpists with a public profile tended to come from established musical families or families who ran businesses that in some way facilitated the development of an Irish pedal harp tradition. Irish pedal harpists who were directly influenced by a parent include Miss Kearns, Daniel Lewis and the Glover sisters, Mary Jane and Emilie. Miss Kearns, who was active in Dublin between c.1817 and 1846, was influenced by her mother, Mrs Kearns. Mrs Kearns' was one of the first pedal harp teachers active in Dublin in the 1790s. Daniel Lewis, who was active in Dublin the 1830s and 1840s, followed his father's lead in performing and teaching pedal harp. After 1850, the Glover sisters, Mary Jane and Emilie, were influenced by their father, Professor Glover, a multi-instrumentalist and

music educator, who is said to have been proficient on the pedal harp himself. Mary Jane Mackey's daughter, Miss Mackey, also carved out a career as a pedal harpist in Ireland, and continued the lineage of pedal harpists in the Glover family. The Ashe sisters, who were prominent as pedal harpists in Ireland between c.1815 and c.1840, were from a well-known musical dynasty, and were fortunate to have the influence of two parents, who were concurrently active as professional musicians. It was through their parents' recitals that the Ashe sisters were afforded a public platform, and this presented a multitude of performance opportunities, including concerts that featured Bochsa and Labarre.

A number of Irish pedal harpists descended from families who were established elements of Ireland's music trade. Mrs Kearns, for example, was a daughter of Henry Mountain, a violinist who also ran a music shop in the south inner city until it was taken over by Mrs Kearns' husband, Joseph, in 1794. Her daughter, Miss Kearns, was active as a pedal harpist in Dublin until the 1840s. The Egan children, Charles, John and Mrs Jackson, benefitted from their father's profile as a respected harp-maker, and the connections that he had built up through his successful business. Charles Egan studied pedal harp with Bochsa and accompanied the Frenchman to Ireland on his first visit in 1821. Mrs Jackson and John Egan junior carried on the family tradition of harp making in the years after their father's death. In recognition of their father's posthumous influence, Egan senior's name was usually included in advertisements for their respective businesses. Mrs Jackson established a 'Harp Academy' on Grafton Street in Dublin 1830, having taught pedal harp privately in previous years. In the 1840s, her daughter, Miss Jackson, continued the family lineage of harp teachers and taught pedal harp in Dublin and Armagh. Miss Jackson claimed to be a student of Bochsa and it is likely that her access to Bochsa was ameliorated by the Egan family connection.

It has not been possible to trace the musical lineage of all Irish pedal harpists who were active publicly. It remains to be established, for example, whether or not Kilkee-born pedal harpist Owen Lloyd was born into a musical family, as his activities prior to settling in Dublin in the early 1870s are unknown; however, it seems likely that he was exposed to music from a young age. Irish pedal harpists who came to prominence after Lloyd were born into a changed *milieu*, where success as a pedal harpist was not necessarily predicated on family connection. Josephine Sullivan, for example, is not known to have come from a musical family. Sullivan was daughter of a prominent Irish politician, and went on to carve out success as a pedal harpist in Ireland and the United States. She was

taught pedal harp at her *alma mater*, Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham. Appendix III provides evidence of an emerging generation of Irish pedal harpists taught in Loreto schools. For example, Phyllis Paul, Daisy Bloom and Annie Fagan were all students of Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham, taught by a ‘member of the community’, now known to have been Mother Attracta Coffey. This suggests that, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the platform for success as an Irish pedal harpist was dependent on one’s ability to access education, particularly convent education, and not one’s familial connections.

6.1.3. The amateur Irish pedal harp community

Irish pedal harpists with a public profile ensured that the pedal harp tradition had a tangible presence in Irish music life. Meanwhile, amateur pedal harpists fuelled a demand for teaching and instruments, and were the foundation upon which the tradition survived. Collectively, advertisements for the sale of instruments and for the availability of pedal harp tuition are reliable indicators of an active and interested amateur pedal harpist community. In addition, advertisements provide clues that help to conceptualise the archetypal amateur pedal harpist in an Irish context. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, pedal harp tuition was habitually directed at ladies, suggesting that this was an accepted cultural standard of the time. Prior to 1820, Irish ladies were specifically alerted to teaching advertisements by the likes of Madame Dussek, Miss Cooney and Mr Lewis. In 1821, on his first visit to Ireland, Bochsa continued to proliferate this gender association by inviting ladies to apply for harp lessons through John Egan on Dawson Street. From the 1820s onwards, advertisements for pedal harp tuition did not tend towards gender specificity, although the likelihood is that was ladies who continued dominate the amateur tradition. Supporting this theory is the fact that a number of seminaries for ladies, which were marketed as exclusive educational institutions, facilitated access to pedal harp tuition. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the female harpist stereotype continued to be proliferated by the availability of pedal harp tuition in convent schools.

In terms of the social profile of amateur Irish pedal harpists, it is likely that, for the most part of the nineteenth century, this was determined by instrument cost. A survey of advertisements for the sale of pedal harps over the course of the nineteenth century, outlined in Appendix II, has concluded that instruments were expensive, even when sold in second-hand condition. The high cost of pedal harps was a factor in restricting access

to instruments to those from wealthy or privileged backgrounds. In the second half of the nineteenth century, such restricted access was alleviated somewhat by the increasing mobilisation of pedal harp tuition to the RIAM and convent schools, where students could learn to play the pedal harp without initially having to purchase instruments of their own. Tuition in convent schools and at the RIAM was not free to access, meaning it too was geared towards those who had disposable income. However, these institutions, which continued into the twentieth century, helped to carve out a much more accessible pathway for successive generations of Irish pedal harpists, thereby futureproofing the evolution of the tradition in Ireland.

6.1.4 Boleyne Reeves (1820-1905)

An investigation of the life, career and compositions of Irish pedal harpist Boleyne Reeves, encapsulated in Chapter 4 of this thesis, is an important contribution to harp and Irish musicological scholarship. Reeves was the only Irish composer, pedal harpist or otherwise, to compose original works for the pedal harp, in addition to compositions that were based on Irish and other popular melodies. On this basis alone, he is unique in the field of nineteenth-century pedal harp scholarship. Reeves also produced a catalogue of songs, that, until now, have not been documented in contemporary Irish musicological research. The identification of Boleyne Reeves' catalogue of compositions in the British Library, London, is a particularly significant finding of this study, and the recording component of Chapter 4 constitutes the initial step in bringing the totality of Reeves' works into the public domain. Two 'Pastorals for Solo Harp, Opus 12', in addition to two original songs, set to harp or pianoforte accompaniment, are indicative of Reeves' unique and charming compositional style.

6.2 Pedagogy

Between c.1790 and 1900, pedal harp tuition in Ireland was delivered in private residences, in educational facilities for ladies, at the RIAM in Dublin and in convent schools. Advertisements for teaching in the press, by both individuals and institutions, are evidence of an active pedagogical scene. However, these advertisements do not account for the network of private harp teachers that operated on a word-of-mouth basis. Over the course of the nineteenth century, one-to-one private harp tuition took place in residential settings; some teachers facilitated students in their own homes, while others

operated on a peripatetic basis. Private tutors were at liberty to charge how they saw fit, and while advertisements did not detail the price of one-to-one lessons, it is likely that tuition was costly, particularly in the early decades of the nineteenth century, when the pedal harp tradition was somewhat of a novelty on the Irish concert scene. In general, foreign pedal harpists who travelled to Ireland taught privately, and it is likely that they factored their travel and subsistence costs into the price of lessons. A number of high-profile pedal harpists, including Bochsa, Taylor and Oberthür, connected with well-known urban music traders, who managed enquiries in relation to their teaching. Irish pedal harpists, meanwhile, tended to manage their own teaching enquiries, and could be contacted at their own private residences.

Educational institutes for ladies were operational throughout the nineteenth century, and were important in facilitating pedal harp tuition, particularly in the period 1800-1850. Marketed as exclusive institutions, where ladies were schooled in a wide range of subjects, including languages, arithmetic, instrumental and vocal studies, these seminaries were run by a matriarchal figure who was assisted by various private tutors. The fact that pedal harp instruction was offered at a number of these seminaries is a testament to the appetite for learning the pedal harp amongst young ladies from wealthy or privileged backgrounds. In the period 1850-1900, private seminaries for ladies, although not completely obsolete, were ultimately replaced by convent schools, and the pedal harp was offered as an ancillary subject in a number of these schools, the most important of which was Loreto Abbey in Rathfarnham, Dublin. Mother Attracta Coffey and her successor, Mother Alphonsus O Connor, were important pedagogical figures of the late nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition in Ireland, and their legacy is manifested in the cohort of female pedal harpists active in Ireland in 1880s and 1890s, as outlined in Appendix III. It was the centralisation of pedal harp tuition in convent schools that helped to proliferate the female pedal harpist stereotype that, in amateur settings, was virtually constant throughout the nineteenth century. The Royal Irish Academy of Music had a partial role in proliferating this stereotype, notably in 1872, when newspaper advertisements for pedal harp tuition were directed at 'female pupils'. Established in 1848, the RIAM did not appoint a pedal harp teacher until 1871. Following Mary Jane Mackey's short tenure at the institution (1871-1873), appointments for pedal harp teachers in the ensuing decades, until 1900, were transient and pupil numbers were low.

It is difficult to draw definitive conclusions from low pupil numbers at the RIAM in this period, given that convent schools were at the forefront of pedal harp tuition at the time.

6.3 Trade

Throughout the nineteenth century, Irish pedal harpists, and those interested in acquiring pedal harps for their homes, had ready access to instruments. Prior to the indigenous manufacture of pedal harps, initiated by John Egan in the early 1800s, instruments were imported by a variety of music traders, initially in Dublin. In the 1790s, the Lee brothers and Joseph Kearns, in the south inner city, were among the first to offer pedal harps for sale. Their advertisements are tangible evidence emerging interest in the pedal harp tradition, then concentrated in urban areas. Between 1800 and 1900, music retailers in urban areas like Dublin, Belfast and Cork, continued to import instruments for sale. Advertisements for the sale of instruments offer some insight into an oscillating, albeit consistently tangible, market demand. This demand, and the variety of pedal harps in Irish circulation, are captured in Appendix II.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was common practice that pedal harpists facilitated the sale of instruments from their homes, including pedal harpists who had travelled to Ireland from abroad. Both Madame Dupré and Champenois facilitated the sale of pedal harps in 1802 and 1804 respectively. Mrs Kearns and her daughter Miss Kearns sold pedal harps between c.1793 and 1847, while Cecelia Ashe and Alexander de Pothonier are noted to have sold pedal harps from their residences in the 1830s. That the majority of these instruments were manufactured by Érard suggests that pedal harpists worked on a commission basis, in what was ostensibly a mutually beneficial partnership between seller and manufacturer. In 1821, Bochsa publicly endorsed John Egan's pedal harps, in what was a high-profile boost to Egan's business. The practice of harpists promoting particular pedal harps continued in the period 1850-1900, but to a lesser extent. Gerhard Taylor, for example, promoted Érard pedal harps at the Great Industrial Exhibition in 1853. The Glover sisters, Mary Jane and Emilie, are also noted to have performed, on occasion, on Érard instruments.

The indigenous manufacture of pedal harps in Ireland was predominantly controlled by the Egan family in Dublin. Egan's grandson, William Jackson, manufactured pedal harps until c.1847. John B. Bray, a musical instrument maker and seller, who may have been

connected to the Egan family, was operational in the music trade between c.1843 and 1870. This study suggests that, following the receipt of a silver medal at the Great Industrial Exhibition in 1853, Bray did not continue to manufacture his own instruments. At the time of his retirement in 1870, he listed single- and double-action pedal harps for sale from his business premises in Dublin; it is likely, however, that these were imported or acquired second-hand. The demise of indigenous manufacture of pedal harps after 1853 suggests that it had then become much more financially prudent to import instruments to Ireland.

An alternative means of acquiring a pedal harp in Ireland was second-hand, either through private sellers or auctions for household furniture. Advertisements for second-hand instruments are evidence that, although the double-action pedal harp was the standard concert instrument from the 1820s onwards, the movement from single- to double-action instrument was not linear. Advertisements also indicate the prevalence of pedal harps in Irish homes, where pedal harps had aesthetic and ornamental value. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the monetary value of pedal harps fluctuated considerably, as outlined in Appendix II. There were a variety of influences at play, including an instrument's condition, the extent to which it was decorated or gilded, and whether its mechanism was single- or double-action.

6.4 Repertoire

This study set out to identify, catalogue and perform nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire of Irish significance. Insofar as the five collections within remit have permitted, these objectives have been met. The recording component of Chapter 5 is a representative sample of the breadth of repertoire of Irish interest that was written and arranged for the pedal harp in the nineteenth century. In addition to these recordings, opportunities have been taken to perform selections of this repertoire in public. These performances, which have been framed by historical context, have helped to inform the public on the history of the pedal harp tradition in Ireland, and the integration of Irish airs into the repertoire of the tradition. This research has shown that a significant proportion of this repertoire was inspired by the Irish airs revived by Thomas Moore (1789-1852), published as Moore's *Irish Melodies* between 1808 and 1834. This compliments similar research carried out by Úna Hunt, which identifies Moore's melodies as the foundation of a large

body of nineteenth-century piano repertoire of Irish significance, catalogued in the National Library of Ireland. Boleyne Reeves was identified as the only Irish composer, harpist or otherwise, to compose what have been termed ‘original’ works for the pedal harp in the nineteenth century. It is in reflecting on this statement that the true status and significance of Reeves in the context of the Irish pedal harp tradition is realised.

In addition to isolating and performing repertoire of Irish significance, this study has also illuminated the broader topic of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire in Ireland. For example, in compiling data from concert programmes and reviews, it is possible to trace the influence of foreign virtuosi who travelled to Ireland on the repertoire that was performed by Irish pedal harpists. A case in point is the harp works of Bochsa, popular in Ireland prior to 1850, but less so after 1850. One interpretation of this trend is the fact that Bochsa visited Ireland at least five times between 1821 and 1847, regularly performed his own compositions, and taught a number of Irish students. Similarly, after 1850, the harp works of Oberthür, who visited Ireland at least six times between 1854 and 1895, were habitually performed by Irish pedal harpists. Like Bochsa, Oberthür is known to have taught Irish pedal harp students, including Louisa Cane, whose collection contains the widest spectrum of Oberthür’s works.

6.5. The interaction of pedal and Irish harp traditions

The pedal harp tradition was the foremost harp tradition practised in Ireland in the nineteenth century. This study has documented the integration of this tradition into the Irish professional and amateur music scene. An art-music tradition, with written pedagogical methods and published repertoire, it was far removed from the pre-1900 Irish harping tradition which was transmitted aurally. On the surface, it seems incongruous, given their respective geneses, that the pedal harp was habitually referred to in the Irish press as a ‘native’ instrument. However, by the nineteenth century, ‘the harp’ was so profoundly entwined in Irish national identity – through music, politics and literature – that the organological nuances of individual instruments were subservient to the symbolic potency of harp imagery. Through the poetry of Moore, the harp had taken on a powerful metaphorical significance and had come to represent romantic notions of Ireland and her struggle for freedom. Moreover, harp-maker John Egan stoked patriotic sentiment and

cleverly marketed his newly constructed pedal harps as ‘native’ instruments in 1817, even though they were based on Érard’s *fourchette* mechanism and a European prototype.

It is possible too that the flawed equation of ‘pedal harp equals native’ was influenced by the widespread performance of Irish repertoire on the pedal harp over the course of the nineteenth century, by Irish and foreign harpists alike. This Irish repertoire – largely arrangements and extemporisations on Moore’s *Irish Melodies* – was founded on ancient Irish melodies that would have historically been transmitted aurally. Through Moore, the *Irish Melodies* became firmly engrained into Irish drawing-room culture into which the pedal harp tradition was organically absorbed.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, only a small number of pedal harpists performed on harps that would have been considered archetypal of the ancient (pre-1800) Irish harping tradition. Welsh pedal harpists Aptommas performed on a model of the fifteenth-century Brian Boru harp at his farewell concert at the Antient Concert Rooms in 1864. The only Irish pedal harpists who performed publicly on an ancient Irish harp were sisters Mary Jane and Emilie Glover. Emilie performed on the ‘old Irish harp’ at her father’s concert at the Antient Concert Rooms in Cork in October 1864, while Mary Jane performed at Robert Prescott Stewart’s lectures on Irish music in 1873 and 1878. In all other instances, Appendix III indicates that Glover sisters performed almost exclusively performed on the pedal harp.

While the interaction of Irish and pedal harp traditions in terms of practitioners is concluded to be negligible, there was an interesting alignment of Irish and pedal harp traditions in 1879 at the ‘Irish Harp Revival Festival’. This festival was a series of three concerts at the Rotunda that was organised by Swedish pedal harpist Adolf Sjöden, who had a keen interest in the Ireland’s indigenous music. Bands of Irish harps featured at the festival; although, in reality, it was dominated by performances on the pedal harp including by Sjöden himself, the Glover sisters (then Mrs Mackey and Emilie Glover) and Owen Lloyd. At some point in the years following the Irish Harp Revival Festival, Lloyd developed an interest in reviving the Irish harp himself, which, in the 1890s, was cultivated and advanced by his involvement with the Gaelic League. Like Lloyd, Irish pedal harpist Mother Attracta Coffey also promoted the study of the Irish harp tradition that evolved in the late nineteenth century. A Loreto nun, Mother Attracta did not perform publicly, although her interest in cultivating a market for the non-pedal instrument is

verified not only by her ‘Tutor for the Irish harp’, published in 1903, but also by the number of Loreto students participating in Irish harp competitions in the Feis Ceoil in the early 1900s. This research illuminates a paradox, therefore, that the development of the Irish harp tradition that emerged in the late nineteenth century – the legacy of which is continued in modern Irish harp pedagogy – was predicated on the existence of a robust nineteenth-century Irish pedal harp tradition.

6.6. Final reflections and future research

This study set out to investigate the significance of the nineteenth-century pedal harp tradition in Ireland, to document the repertoire of the tradition, and to revive and perform repertoire of Irish significance. Using a blended research approach, these aims have been realised. Furthermore, the important legacy of Irish pedal harpist Boleyne Reeves has been established.

A number of areas for future research have been identified. Firstly, if additional collections of nineteenth-century pedal harp repertoire in Ireland were located, this would enrich the repertoire aspect of this study, and potentially allow for more nuanced observations to be made in relation to nineteenth-century concert repertoire in Ireland. Publication of the Louisa Cane Collection on the RISM Ireland database has also been earmarked as an important future output, on the basis that this database would be easily accessible to harp scholars internationally. It was in the preparatory stages of RISM cataloguing that research trajectories were illuminated, and it is important to consider the value of the cataloguing process in future studies of this nature. Cataloguing of nineteenth-century pedal harp materials in the National Library of Ireland may also have a role to play in directing future research trajectories.

In relation to Boleyne Reeves, there are some avenues that necessitate further development. In the first instance, modern published editions of Reeves’ pedal harp compositions would be of interest to the Irish and wider pedal harp community, particularly when it is considered that the majority of Reeves’ compositions are stored in the British Library, which is not a lending institution. A detailed study and modern editions of Reeves’ songs would complement a publication of Reeves’ harp works and would enhance the field of nineteenth-century Irish art song. In terms of Reeves’ biography, a more detailed study of nineteenth-century newspaper archives using

microfilm records may address the limitations presented by digital newspaper searches. Finally, performing, recording and disseminating Reeves' repertoire, including solo harp works and songs, is an extensive project for which external support will be sought.

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1. *Additional Music Collection* and *Joly Collection* (catalogued)
2. *Prints and Drawings Department* and *Manuscripts Department* (uncatalogued), encompassing the Black Box Collection (53 boxes) and the Black Box Irish Collection (cleaned and partially processed).

The Loreto Collection (uncatalogued) encompassing two private collections in the possession of Professor Clíona Doris and Dr Sheila Larchet Cuthbert.

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Appendices

Appendix I RISM Catalogue: Louisa Cane Collection

1. Access RISM Ireland website at www.rism.ie
2. In the 'Quick search' field, enter 'Louisa Cane'

The screenshot shows the RISM IRL website search results for 'Louisa Cane'. The search bar at the top left contains 'Louisa Cane' and a 'Go!' button. The search results page displays a table of manuscript entries. A box highlights the text '1 - 100 of 397 in total' in the search results summary. A red arrow points from this box to the 'Quick search' field in the top left. Another red arrow points from the 'Collection' column of the table to the 'Standardised title' column of the same table.

WF	Composer	Standardised title	Title on source	Siglum	Shelfmark	RISM ID
<input type="checkbox"/>		Collection	Misses Lloyd	IRL Dam	5a1.5(6)	00000866000330
<input type="checkbox"/>		Collection	Harp music. E. Parish Alvars. Charles Oberthür. 4	IRL Dam	5a1.5(2)	00000866000231
<input type="checkbox"/>		Collection	Ellen	IRL Dam	5a1.5(6)	00000866000313
<input type="checkbox"/>		Collection	Harp Duets. Piano.	IRL Dam	5a1.5(1)	00000866000206
<input type="checkbox"/>		Collection	[No title on source]	IRL Dam	5a1.5(4)	00000866000265
<input type="checkbox"/>		Collection	Miss Donovan	IRL Dam	5a1.5(7)	00000866000360
<input type="checkbox"/>		Collection	Harp music. Gerhard Taylor. J. Balsir Chatterton. 3	IRL Dam	5a1.5(2)	00000866000220
<input type="checkbox"/>	Labarre, Théodore	Collection	Harp. Labarre. Louisa Cane	IRL Dam	5a1.5(3)	00000866000256
<input type="checkbox"/>	Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Felix	Collection	Mendelssohn's lieder ohne worte transcribed for the harp by...	IRL Dam	5a1.5(9)	00000866000406
<input type="checkbox"/>	Oberthür, Charles	Collection	Harp Music. Charles Oberthür. 2	IRL Dam	5a1.5(12)	00000866000488
<input type="checkbox"/>		Collection	Piano. Louisa Cane	IRL Dam	5a1.5(11)	00000866000487
<input type="checkbox"/>	Oberthür, Charles	Collection	Harp Music. Charles Oberthür. 7	IRL Dam	5a1.5(1)	00000866000193
<input type="checkbox"/>		Collection	Harp Duets. Harp.	IRL Dam	5a1.5(1)	00000866000194
<input type="checkbox"/>		Collection	Harp Music. Charles Oberthür. John Thomas. 6	IRL Dam	5a1.5(2)	00000866000207
<input type="checkbox"/>		Collection	Harp Chatterton Louisa Cane	IRL Dam	5a1.5(3)	00000866000241
<input type="checkbox"/>	Bochsa, Robert Nicolas	Collection	Harp Bochs Louisa Cane	IRL Dam	5a1.5(1)	00000866000257

3. In the Louisa Cane Collection, this is the sum total of Collections plus individual items (369 individual items contained in 28 Collections: $328+28=397$)
4. Click on a 'Collection' to see individual items within each collection. See example below:

13:16 RISM Ireland - Source 00000866000231

rism-ie.org/manuscripts/00000866000231?peek=2&w

RISM IRL Site Administration New source.. cmccague (logout)

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> Subjects

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Collection
Manuscript 00000866000231 · unpublished · cmccague [List](#) [Edit manuscript](#)

Summary

Standardised title Collection
Scoring summary arp
Title on source Harp music. E. Parish Alvars. Charles Oberthür. 4

Library information

Shelf mark 5a1.5(2)
Collection Louisa Cane Collection
Library siglum IRL Dam
Library Dublin (Ireland), Royal Irish Academy of Music

Source details

Dimensions 35cm

Further information

General note Transcribed from front cover "HARP MUSIC. / E. Parish Alvars. / Charles Oberthür.
One of three volumes contained in box marked 5a1.5(2)
Handwritten tablet of contents present
"Louisa Cane" (handwritten) on Contents page

Index terms

Subject heading [Harp music](#)
[Instrumental music](#)

Name [Oberthür, Charles \(1819 - 1895\) \[Composer\]](#)
[Parish-Alvars, Elias \(1808 - 1849\) \[Composer\]](#)
[Cane, Louisa \(1823 - 1909\) \[Donor\]](#)

Administration

Original cataloguing agency UKLU-RH
Language of cataloguing eng
Transcribing agency UKLU-RH

Related resources

Link to items in this collection [00000866000235](#)
[00000866000238](#)
[00000866000239](#)
[00000866000240](#)
[00000866000232](#)
[00000866000233](#)
[00000866000234](#)
[00000866000236](#)
[00000866000237](#)

[id as MARC21](#)

This is a transcription of the exact wording from front cover of Collection

Click on 'Harp music' to access other items catalogued under 'Harp music' in RISM

Click on 'Charles Oberthür' to access other items catalogued for this composer in RISM

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5. Individual items in each collection are listed under 'Related Sources'

- To access detailed information on each catalogued item, click item. In the above example, if the first item in the Collection is clicked, the following information is accessed:

13:33

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> Standard titles
> Subjects

Quick search Go!

Instrumental pieces
Manuscript 00000866000235 - unpublished - cmccague List Edit manuscript

Summary

Name [Oberthür, Charles](#) (1819 - 1895)
Standardised title Instrumental pieces
Key A flat major
Opus/thematic catalogue no. Opus 24
Scoring summary arp
Title on source Songs without words for the harp

Library information

Shelf mark 5a1.5(2)
Collection Louisa Cane Collection
Library siglum IRL Dam
Library Dublin (Ireland), Royal Irish Academy of Music
Source of acquisition note Louisa Cane
Method of acquisition Donation
Date of acquisition 1901---

Source details

Plate number 5746
Place N^o. 229 Regent Street, Corner of Hanover Street, London
Atelier name Wessel & C^o.
Description/Extent 1 harp score (4 p.)
Dimensions 34cm

Further information

General note Transcribed from title page "3 / SONGS WITHOUT WORDS, / FOR THE / HARP"
Transcribed from title page "N^o. 1. / MOTTO "DANS CES INSTANTS OU LE COEUR PENSE" (BERANGER.) / N^o.2. / MOTTO "ICH DENKE DEIN, WENN DURCH DEN HAIN DER NACHTIGALLEN" (MATTHIESON.) / N^o.3. / MOTTO "EILENDE WOLKEN. SEGLER DER LUFTE" (SCHILLER.) / Composed & Dedicated to his PUPIL / The hon^{ble} Caroline Leigh, / by / CHARLES OBERTHÜR"
Note that it is only Opus 24 No. 3 that is printed in this volume
Transcribed from first page of music "MOTTO / Eilende Wolken; Segler der Luft! / Wer mit euch wanderte, mit euch schiffte! / Grusset mir freundlich mein Jugendland! / (SCHILLER)"

Index terms

Subject heading [Harp music](#)
[Instrumental music](#)
Name [Oberthür, Charles](#) (1819 - 1895) [Composer]
[Leigh, Caroline](#) (Unknown) [Dedicatee]
[Cane, Louisa](#) (1823 - 1909) [Donor]

Administration

Original cataloguing agency UKLU-RH
Language of cataloguing eng
Transcribing agency UKLU-RH

Related resources

Link to volume containing this item [00000866000231](#) Download record as MARC21

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Appendix II: Trade

c.1790-1850

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
'pedal harps'	?	Edmund Lee, 2 Dame Street	<i>DEPost</i> , 1 July 1790	
'French pedal harps'	?	Miss Mountain, 44 Grafton Street	<i>DEPost</i> , 24 July 1792	'the harps from the very best makers in Paris'
'an excellent new pedal harp made by the celebrated Cousineau & Son, lately imported from England'	Raffle	John Lee, 70 Dame Street	<i>SNL</i> , 22 March 1793	Thirty-five subscriptions at one guinea each
'a real French make'	Raffle	Edmund Lee's, 2 Dame Street	<i>SNL</i> , 11 June 1793	Twenty-four subscribers, two guineas each
A pedal harp by Cousineau of Paris	Raffle	Edmund Lee's, 2 Dame Street	<i>SNL</i> , 11 April 1794	Fifty subscriptions at one guinea each
'pedal harps'	?	Mr Cooke's, 4 Sackville Street	<i>DEPost</i> , 1 November 1794	
'an elegant pedal harp made by the famous Cousineau'	?	Inquire at 16 Old Church Street	<i>SNL</i> , 3 December 1795	
'a pedal harp by Naderman Paris'	?	145 Capel Street	<i>DEPost</i> , 15 March 1796	
'pedal harps'	?	Edmond Lee, 2 Dame Street	<i>DEPost</i> , 17 June 1794	
'a variety of pedal harps for sale or hire'	?	Edmond Lee, 2 Dame Street	<i>SNL</i> , 29 May 1797	
'a remarkably sweet toned pedal harp, made by one of the best makers at Paris'	Raffle	Egan's Harp Manufactory, 25&1/2 Dawson Street	<i>SNL</i> , 15 May 1802	
'a very fine-toned pedal harp, made by Meyer, London'	70 Guineas, will be sold reasonable on account of the Gentleman that owns it going to England'	Michael Goulding's Sale Room (Mercantile Commission and Auction Sale Room), 37 Grafton Street	<i>SNL</i> , 21 October 1802	

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
'pedal harps'	?	W Power & Co, 4 WM Street, College Green	<i>SNL</i> , 16 December 1802	
'two very capital-toned pedal harps'	?	Southwells (Apollo Music Shop), 17 North Earl Street	<i>SNL</i> , 26 January 1803	
'a very fine pedal harp, made by Seabold, London'	?	Michael Goulding's Sale Room, 37 Grafton Street	<i>SNL</i> , 14 June 1803	
'Elegant new pedal harps and cases'	?	John Southwell, 17 North Earl Street	<i>SNL</i> , 19 April 1803	
'a very excellent harp by Coisineau'	?	House and Furniture Auction, Henry Eggleso, Upholder and Auctioneer	<i>SNL</i> , 28 June 1804	
	?	Madame Champenois, 4 Pitt Street	<i>SNL</i> , 10 January 1804	
'a fine toned and very handsome pedal harp'	25 guineas	Rhames' Music Shop, 16 Exchange Street	<i>SNL</i> , 8 May 1804	
'2 superb pedal harps'	?	George Gough, Music Seller, Auction of his stock of musical instruments, 4 Sackville Street	<i>SNL</i> , 5 March 1805	
'a superb patent pedal harp, with the swell, made by a most eminent maker in London'	50 guineas (the lowest price)	Private Sale, No address of owner supplied	<i>SNL</i> , 26 March 1805	
'two pedal harps in good order'	?	Gough's Music Shop, 4 Sackville Street	<i>SNL</i> , 18 January 1806	
Erard	'70 guineas and no less'	Private Sale	<i>SNL</i> , 23 January 1806	
'a good French pedal harp to be sold'	22 guineas	Private Sale	<i>SNL</i> , 1 July 1806	
'a remarkable fine toned pedal harp'	'the original price 60 guineas, will be sold for 40'	Private Seller, 1 Caroline Row	<i>SNL</i> , 11 August 1806	
'Mayers, London' (probably Meyer)	30 guineas	Holden's, 26 Parliament Street	<i>DEP</i> , 24 July 1806	

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
'a good French pedal harp'	22 guineas	Private Sale, No address of owner supplied	<i>SNL</i> , 30 June 1806	
'an elegant pedal harp to be sold'	Lowest price 35 guineas	Private Sale, 29 Molesworth Street	<i>SNL</i> , 25 March 1807	
'a capital pedal harp, in complete order'	30 guineas	Mr Heron's, 9 Great Charles' Street, Mountjoy Square	<i>SNL</i> , 30 April 1808	
'a pedal harp for sale'	?	M McCalley, 33 Moore Street	<i>SNL</i> , 15 January 1808	
'a pedal harp, it must be the newest and most perfect construction'	No more than 25 guineas	WANTED	<i>SNL</i> , 6 June 1811	
'A choice selection of cabinet, grand and square piano-fortes, harps, organs, patent flutes, flageolets & co, from the best makers in London'	?	Goulding & Co, 7 WM Street	<i>SNL</i> , 9 December 1814	
A fine pedal harp by Egan	?	Auction of furniture of the house, 3 Merrion Square West	<i>SNL</i> , 27 February 1815	
'a Pedal harp'	20 guineas	Private Sale, 19 Middle Gardiner Street	<i>SNL</i> , 22 September 1815	
'Harps by Erard, Erat, Dizi, Dodd, Stumpff & c. & c	?	J. Willis, late Goulding & Co, 7 WM Street	<i>DEP</i> , 27 January 1816	
Double and single action, half the cost of what harps imported usually sell for		Egan, Pedal Harp Manufactory, 30 Dawson Street	<i>DEPost</i> , 9 January 1817	5 year warranty (exceptions), harps hired out by week, night or month, harp strings, all necessary appendages for the harp
?	?	T. Cooke & Brenan, Music Warehouse, 45 Dame Street	<i>DEPost</i> , 29 June 1816	
'a highly finished pedal harp'	Cost 90 guineas, will be sold for 60, was never used	Private Sale, no address supplied	<i>SNL</i> , 19 June 1817	
'a handsome small pedal harp'	15 guineas	Private Sale, No. 1, Clare Street	<i>SNL</i> , 10 April 1817	

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
Double and single action harps, either plain or superbly finished, a variety of second hand harps of the best makers	?	John Egan, Double and Single Action Harp Maker	<i>DEPost</i> , 2 June 1818	Harp for hire, harps taken in exchange, all the necessary harp appendages, harps repaired, painted, gilt, varnished
A second hand pedal harp	Fair price	WANTED	<i>SNL</i> , 29 November 1817	
	?	Mr Logier, 27 Lower Sackville Street	<i>SNL</i> , 15 April 1818	
‘Pianofortes, harps, quadrille organs, flutes, violins, violincellos, let out on hire by the night or month’	?	I Willis,	<i>SNL</i> , 20 January 1819	
Erard		Mr Seiglig from Sebastien Erard’s, Exhibition at the Long Room of the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 15 April 1819	
‘Harps, violincellos & c hired out’	?	W Power, 4 WM Street	<i>SNL</i> , 26 June 1820	
‘a double action pedal harp by Egan’	?	Furniture Auction, Elliot’s Mart, Sackville Street	<i>SNL</i> , 12 January 1820	
‘a very good harp made by Errard’	50 pounds	Private Sale, 9 Mountjoy Square	<i>SNL</i> , 12 July 1820	
‘Harps of the best description, for hire by the night or month’	?	I Willis, Harmonic Saloon, 7 WM Street	<i>DWR</i> , 14 July 1821	
‘an elegant pedal harp from the Manufactory of Wood, Small & Co, musical instrument makers to his Majesty, Edinburgh and London	?	Robert Hart, 17 Skippers’ Street	<i>Belfast Commercial Chronicle</i> , 10 October 1821	
‘an elegant assortment of Double and Single Actioned Harps’	?	William Townsend, 9 Parliament Street (at Mr Yates’s, Cutler)	<i>SNL</i> , 3 October 1821	

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
Double action and single action, second hand harps for sale by different makers	?	John Egan, Harp Maker, 30 Dawson Street	<i>FJ</i> , 31 October 1821	
Single, double and TRIPLE action (half the cost of those imported or sold in London), second hand harps by different harp makers	?	John Egan, 30 Dawson Street	<i>SNL</i> , 16 January 1822	
'an excellent toned, second hand pedal harp, made by Egan'	?	Private Sale, to be seen at Mr Sharman's, 22 Dawson Street	<i>SNL</i> , 6 April 1822	
'a variety of harps, single and double action, made by Erard, Dizi, Egan, & c.'	?	I Willis, Royal Harmonic Saloon, 7 WM Street	<i>SNL</i> , 30 December 1822	
'Double and single actioned pedal harps'	?	William Townsend, Harp maker from London, 9 Parliament Street, Dublin	<i>SNL</i> , 30 March 1822	
'a variety of harps, single and double action, made by Erard, Egan, Dizi and co.	Second hand Egan harp for 32 guineas (original price 65)	I Willis, Harmonic Saloon, 7 WM Street	<i>Dublin Correspondent</i> , 21 January 1823	
'Harps, pianofortes & c let out to hire'	?	J. Gillespie, 88 Grand Parade, Cork	<i>SRCCC</i> , 5 April 1823	
Single and double action	?	John Egan, 30 Dawson Street	<i>Dublin Correspondent</i> , 8 November 1823	Old harps bought/exchanged, repair, tuning, accessories
'an elegant pedal harp'	?	John McDonnell, Auctioneer, 39 Patrick Street, Cork	<i>SRCCC</i> , 18 December 1823	
Single, double action, a variety of second hand harps at moderate prices	?	John Egan, 30 Dawson Street	<i>SNL</i> , 1 March 1824	
'An elegant and fine toned pedal harp by Egan of Dublin'	Lowest price 20 guineas	Private Sale, no address supplied	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i> , 12 March 1824	
'a handsome London-made pedal harp'	?	Private sale, no address supplied	<i>SNL</i> , 11 April 1825	

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
'a beautiful single action harp (Makers Schweiso & Grossean), to be sold very reasonable'	?	R.F. Bowden, Pianoforte, Music and musical instrument Warehouse, 9 South Mall, Cork	SRCCC, 31 March 1825	
Single, double action, a variety of second hand harps at moderate prices	?	John Egan, 30 Dawson Street	SNL, 3 November 1825	
'an excellent London-made pedal harp'	27 Guineas	Mr Flinn's Pianoforte Warerooms, 25 William Street	SNL, 1 May 1826	
'a double actioned harp made by Erat, nearly new'	55 guineas	Richard Gillespie, 32 Patrick Street, Cork	SRCCC, 26 December 1826	
Single action harp by Erard	34 guineas	Bowden, 9 South Mall	SRCCC, 26 December 1826	
Single, double, a variety of excellent second hand harps by the first makers, for sale at the most moderate prices	?	John Egan, 30 Dawson Street	SNL, 23 June 1827	Hire, tuning, strings, accessories, repairs, 3 year warranty (with exceptions)
'an excellent pedal harp made by Erard'	?	Mrs Spearing's, 16 Bowling Green Street	CC, 22 December 1827	
Single, double, a variety of excellent second hand harps by the first makers, for sale at the most moderate prices	?	John Egan & Son, 30 Dawson Street	SNL, 14 March 1828	
A double action harp by Errard	?	Auction of fashionable furniture, Mrs Fagan's, Sydney Place, Cork	SRCCC, 19 September 1829	
A single action harp	?	Auction of furniture, Mr Reeves' house, next to the Botanic Garden	SRCCC, 28 April 1829	
Erard	?	Paul Alday & Sons, 10 Dame Street	SNL, 3 April 1829	

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
Single, double, a variety of excellent second hand harps by the first makers	'the most moderate prices'	John Egan & Son, 30 Dawson Street	<i>The Pilot</i> , 30 November 1829	Hire, tuning, strings, accessories, repairs, 3 year warranty (with exceptions)
'harps'	?	Willis & Co, 7 WM Street and 59 Fleet Street	<i>DEP</i> , 19 December 1829	
Double and single movement pedal harps	?	John Egan & Sons, 30 Dawson Street	<i>DEP</i> , 17 April 1830	
Single, double, a variety of second hand harps by different makers	'from eight guineas and upwards'	John Egan & Son, 23 Dawson Street	<i>Dublin Morning Register</i> , 27 September 1831	To meet the pressure of the times, Egan has made a most considerable reduction in the prices of his new harps – and notwithstanding the vast disproportion in the price, he engages them to equal any imported or manufactured in London. New harps of Egan's manufacture, engaged for a number of years, and kept in strings, free of expense, for one year – and tuned free for a year, if in Dublin, or four miles of it
'a handsome pedal harp'	?	Auction of household furniture	<i>Northern Whig</i> , 27 February 1832	
Single action harp by Egan, little used	30 guineas (includes music stand)	Private Sale, no address supplied	<i>SNL</i> , 12 March 1832	
Erard & eminent London makers	?	S.J. Piggott, 13 WM Street	<i>WDWM</i> , 13 October 1832	
'a very fine toned double action harp by Erard, and several single action ones'	?	R. Gillespie, 17? WM Street	<i>SNL</i> , 6 December 1832	
He has for Sale, for E. Dovey, Double action harps of the same superior tone and finish, that obtained for Egan & Son, the high and distinguished patronage of the Royal family, and the Nobility of the United Kingdom; the tone and finish equal, if not superior to any	?	John Egan, SON OF THE LATE MR JOHN EGAN, removed from 30 Dawson Street to 52 Grafton Street	<i>SNL</i> , 8 December 1832	John Egan, having worked at all the branches of harp making during his father's long illness, and being considered a good performer on the harp, will engage to keep those instruments in repair for five years, and also in strings and tuning, for the first twelve months, free of expense. To Ladies purchasing instruments at this Establishment, Egan will give a course of Bochsa's instructions, free of expense. Harps repaired, painted, gilt, varnished,

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
imported, at even double the price				gilt, regulated, strung. Any ladies sending their harps for repair as above can have a harp in exchange during the interval of its being repaired.
Double and single action harps	?	John Murphy, late of Messrs Bowden & co, South Mall	<i>SRCCC</i> , 5 April 1833	
'a splendid double action harp made by Erard'	A few months old, original cost 120 guineas, to be sold for 90	Davis & Co Warerooms, 32 Grafton Street	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i> , 11 March 1833	
'some beautiful harps by Errard'	?	E. Mc Cullagh, 22 Suffolk Street, Pianoforte and Harp Warerooms	<i>Dublin Weekly Register</i> , 7 September 1833	
'harps'	?	Alday & Co, 10 Dame Street	<i>WDWM</i> , 17 August 1833	
'a double action harp, second hand, in perfect order and an excellent tone, made by Dodd, London'	Cost 95 guineas new, to be sold for 45	I Willis, 7 WM Street	<i>WDWM</i> , 17 August 1833	
'pedal harp'	?	Public Auction of household furniture, Smith's Rooms, 12 Grafton Street	<i>WDWM</i> , 12 April 1834	
Single and double action harps by the most approved makers	?	Marcus Moses, Pianoforte, Harp and Music Warehouse	<i>WDWM</i> , 2 May 1835	
Double and single action. NB a single action harp to be sold considerably under its value	?	Egan, Read & Taylor (Son and foremen to the late John Egan of Dawson Street), 21 Aungier Street	<i>SNL</i> , 30 May 1835	
?	?	Jackson Harp Manufactory, 7 Westmoreland Street	<i>SNL</i> , 20 June 1835	Appointed harp maker to the Countess of Mulgrave. Awarded large silver medal at RDS Exhibition as a premium for the two harps exhibited.
Variety of new double action pedal harps for sale, equal if not superior to those imported, which Mrs J will dispose of	?	Jackson Harp Manufactory, 7 Molesworth Street	<i>SNL</i> , 14 December 1835	Daughter of the late celebrated Mr Egan. Mrs Jackson begs to state that she is in no way connected whatsoever with any other Harp Manufactory in the City.

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
for one half the London prices – also second hand double action and single action harps for sale				
‘a double action harp of Sebastien Errard, with all the newest improvements, superior tone and action, scarcely four months in use, and in every respect, as good as new – the other, a small harp of Egan’s, partly double action, in perfect preservation, suited to pupils, from eight to fourteen years of age’	These harps will be sold 30l per cent under first cost	33 Gloucester Street (presumably Mr de Pothonier’s residence)	<i>SNL</i> , 28 November 1836	
A variety of new double action harps, of superior brilliancy of tone and workmanship, equal, if not superior, to those imported	Mrs J will dispose of for one half of the London prices	Jackson Harp Manufactory, 7 Molesworth Street	<i>SNL</i> , 17 December 1836	Mrs Jackson, Professor of the Harp. Harps of every maker ornamented, gilt, varnished, repaired. Double and single action harps hired out on the same moderate terms of those of her late father. Harps strung and tuned in town and country with the greatest accuracy by her Son.
‘Begs to inform the Nobility and Gentry that he has just returned from London, and intends manufacturing harps on the newest principles.’	?	John Egan, 12 Duke Street	<i>SNL</i> , 9 January 1837	Ladies who wish to receive instructions from Bochs are particularly recommended to have the semitones and action of their harps regulated so as to produce the new effects (as intended) without additional trouble. Harps strung, tuned and repaired in town and country, at the owner’s residence, by Mr Egan, No. 12 Duke Street, or Mr Moses, 4 Westmoreland Street. Mr Egan begs to say that he has no connexion whatever with the Proprietor of the Shop, 7 Molesworth Street, though falsely represented during his stay in London.

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
'single and double action harps by Erard and others'	?	Marcus Moses, Pianoforte, Harp & Music Warehouse, 4 WM Street	<i>WDWM</i> , 22 April 1837	
'Double Movement harp from one of the first London Manufactories, selected by C.N. Bochsa' (sic)	?	Mr Pothonier, Professor of the Harp, 33 Gloucester Street	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i> , 15 June 1838	
'cheap double action harp for sale'	The lowest price 30 guineas	Private sale, No address supplied	<i>SNL</i> , 12 November 1839	
Erard	?	Mc Cullagh & Mc Cullagh, Pianoforte and Harp Warerooms, 22 Suffolk Street	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i> , 16 September 1842	
Single action pedal harp	5 guineas	Private sale, 4 Aston's Quay	<i>SNL</i> , 2 January 1843	
Erard	?	McCullagh, 22 Suffolk Street	<i>DEP</i> , 1 September 1846	
'a pedal harp'	?	Auction of household furniture, Lisdhu House, Dungannon	<i>Tyrone Constitution</i> , 8 September 1848	
'Erard's new patent double action harps, of increased compass and most splendid finish'	?	Marcus Moses, 4 WM Street	<i>DEP</i> , 23 May 1840	
Double and single action harps, of his own and London manufacture	?	William Jackson, Successor to the late John Egan	<i>SNL</i> , 16 November 1843	Begs to inform the Nobility and Gentry that he has removed his establishment from Molesworth Street to 32 Dawson Street where he will be constantly supplied with an assortment of double and single action harps, of his own and London manufacture, which he will dispose of on moderate terms. Harps of every maker carefully repaired, painted, varnished and gilt. Ladies purchasing a set of strings can have their harps properly strung and tuned, free of extra expense, in town.

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
London-made double and single action harps, and of his own manufacture, similar to the one which obtained the large silver medal at the late Exhibition of Irish Manufacturers	?	William Jackson, Harp Manufactory, 32 Dawson Street	<i>SNL</i> , 9 September 1844	Wm Jackson, Grandson and Successor to the late John Egan, in soliciting the Patronage of the Nobility and Gentry, begs to inform them that he is constantly supplied with Harps of every maker carefully repaired, strung and tuned in town and country. Portable harps made to order, and country orders attended to.
Double and single action harps, of his own and London manufacture	?	Egan's Old Established Pedal Harp Manufactory, 32 Dawson Street, Dublin. William Jackson. Grandson and Successor to the late John Egan	<i>DWR</i> , 31 May 1845	Constantly supplied with an assortment of double and single action harps, of his own and London manufacture, which he will dispose of on moderate terms. Harps of every maker carefully repaired, painted, varnished, gilt, strung and tuned in town and country. Portable and Irish harps made to order.

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
Instruments by Erard and other makers	'much lower prices than any other house in town'	Harp Manufactory, 32 Dawson Street	<i>SNL</i> , 3 September 1846	William Jackson begs to announce to the Nobility and Gentry that he has just returned from paying his annual visit to London, and making such arrangements with Messrs Erard, and other eminent harp makers, as will enable him to sell their instruments at much lower prices than any other house in town. Ladies purchasing a set of strings at this establishment may derive the advantage of having their harps properly strung and tuned, in town, free of expense. Harps of every maker carefully repaired, painted & co,
?	?	Mr Bray of Westmoreland Street	<i>The Pilot</i> , 1 December 1847	Extract from article entitled 'Harp Making'. 'Mr Jackson succeeded Mr Egan. He carried on the business for some years with diminishing success. Mr Bray of Westmoreland Street has now taken up the manufacture. A beautiful harp made in his establishment was exhibited recently at the Dublin Society and obtained the large medal. It was eagerly purchased at the Exhibition: the price was full one

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	Notes
				<p>third less than a similar instrument of London make would bring, still Mr Bray was content with having realised a fair profit. He has other instruments now in progress, every detail of which is made in this workshop – wood, brass and steel work, down to the smallest screw.</p> <p>With Mr Bray's energy and enterprise there can be no doubt of his complete success. Those who made such exertions to retain our manufactures deserve, and should receive, ample encouragement.'</p>
Double action pedal harp by Erard	?	Clearance Sale of Furniture, Public Sale Rooms, 9 Ormond Quay (John Littledale, Auctioneer)	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i> , 7 December 1849	

1850-1900

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	
Double-action Egan	£100	Auction of household items of W.G. Irwin, Mount Irwin, Armagh. Listed alongside contents of drawing room.	<i>Armagh Guardian</i> , 7 October 1850	
Double-action by Jackson	?	Auction of household furniture, 116 Upper Leeson Street	<i>FJ</i> , 27 January 1851	
Pedal harp	?	Classified in 'furniture' at Carraig Brack House, Howth	<i>SNL</i> , 3 March 1853	
Double-action pedal harp	?	Auction, 9 Upper Ormond Quay	<i>SNL</i> , 26 May 1853	
A London-made pedal harp in good order and handsomely ornamented with stool and music stand (owner is going abroad)	£12 lowest price	Office of SNL	<i>SNL</i> , 23 June 1854	
Pedal harp	?	'Extensive clearance of fashionable household furniture', 39 Wellington Quay, Dublin	<i>SNL</i> , 19 December, 1857	
Egan pedal harp	?	Auction of household furniture, 11 Mespil Parade	<i>SNL</i> , 27 September 1855	
Single-action pedal harp	?	Auction, 7 Castle Place, Belfast	<i>Belfast Mercury</i> , 5 February 1859	
Pedal harp	?	Auction at Dr Cary's late residence, Pump Street, Derry	<i>Londonderry Standard</i> , 28 November 1861	
Pedal harp by Erard	?	Auction of household furniture, 103 Lower Gardiner Street	<i>SNL</i> , 24 th August 1863	
Harp by Erard		Unreserved Auction, Aghadoe House, Killeagh, Co. Cork	<i>SRCCC</i> , 24 September 1864	
A magnificent Gothic harp by Erard, ultramarine blue and gold, with wreathed pillar & c	A purchaser guaranteed £100 for the harp	A bazaar for the completion of St Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh. 3 rd prize, the gift of the inhabitants of Armagh. May be seen at Gunn's Music Warerooms, 61 Grafton St	<i>FJ</i> , 3 March 1865	
A first class Erard harp, double-action	?	Mr Nesbitt, Hibernian Hotel	<i>FJ</i> , 24 Feb 1866	
Erard double-action, property of one of the highest families in Waterford, selected by Gerhard Taylor	Cost 145 guineas, will be sold for 80	Mr Keller's pf and music warehouse, Limerick	<i>Limerick Chronicle</i> , 24 March 1868	

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	
Double action pedal harps	?	John Burke's Great Rooms, Sackville Street. Sells second-hand household furniture, pianos, harmoniums and double action pedal harps 'by eminent makers'	<i>DEPost</i> , 30 August 1869	
Pedal harp	?	Auction Mart, 10 Wearing St, Belfast. Mr Cramsie will sell excellent household furniture	<i>Belfast Morning News</i> , 19 October 1870	
A very fine pedal harp by some eminent maker	?	Sale of superior household furniture	<i>IT</i> , 1 June 1875	
A splendid Egan pedal harp	?	A grand bazaar and distribution of prizes, Round Room Rotunda, 23 rd Sept, 6 th prize (3 rd prize, a Kerry cow) to raise funds for completion of the new church, St Mary of the Angels, Church St	<i>FJ</i> , 17 September 1877	
Erard harp, single action	?	47 Grand Parade, Cork (private sale)	<i>CC</i> , 26 Jan 1878	
A splendid double-action harp by Egan	£12, value £30		<i>IT</i> , 1 June 1880	
Double-action Erard		Auction of highly superior household furniture, 2 Fitzwilliam Sq East	<i>DDE</i> , 14 Feb 1880	
Single-action pedal harp	?	Mr Cramsie, the Auction Mart, 10 Waring Street. Superior fashionable furniture	<i>Northern Whig</i> , 17 March 1882	
Double-action Erard, property of well-known lady amateur	Original price £120	Ormond Auction Rooms, 9 Upper Ormond Quay	<i>IT</i> , 21 Nov 1883	
A double-action by Egan	?	Household furniture of a miscellaneous description. Auction Mart, 10 Waring Street, Belfast	<i>Northern Whig</i> , 26 Feb 1884	
WANTED Erard harp required by Lady principal of a select boarding school	?	FJ office	<i>FJ</i> , 26 November 1885	
WANTED double-action Erard harp	£25 will be given, must be in good order	May & Sons, pf and music sellers, 130 Stephen's Green, Dublin	<i>FJ</i> , 17 September 1887	
Double-action Erard, Gothic style		Sale of antique and modern furniture, 37 Boyne Street, Dublin	<i>FJ</i> , 19 November 1889	
Erat Gothic harp, perfect tone in white and gold	A bargain	111 Stephen's Green,	<i>DDE</i> , 4 May 1889	
Double-action Erard	?	T.D. Smith & Bartons, Kingstown	<i>IT</i> , 25 July 1890	

Type of instrument	Price	Details of sale	Reference	
Double-action	?	Auction at the Mart, Rosemary Street, Belfast	<i>Belfast Telegraph</i> , 3 November 1891	
WANTED	State price	Double-action pedal harp by Erard or some maker	IT, 19 Jan 1891	
Egan pedal harp	?	Auction of household furniture, musical instruments City Auction Rooms, Donegall St, Belfast	<i>Northern Whig</i> , 7 September 1893	
Double-action by Erard	?	10 Lower Ormond Quay, Modern and antique household furniture	<i>Irish Independent</i> , 3 June 1898	

Appendix III: Concert Repertoire Database

Nicholas Charles Bochsa (1789-1856)	Charles Oberthür (1819-1895)
Théodore Labarre (1805-1870)	John Thomas (1826-1913)
Irish airs	Félix Godefroid (1818-1897)
Elias Parish Alvars (1808-1849)	Miscellaneous composers

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
Duet on the harp and pf	Stiebelt	The Misses Cheese	Grand concert in aid of Lord Nelson's monument at the Rotunda	<i>Hibernian Journal</i> , 13 January 1806	15 January 1806
Concerto on the pedal harp	Dussek	Miss Almona Cheese	Mr Attwood's benefit concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 5 March 1806	5 March 1806
Celebrated sonata, Opus 37	Dussek	Miss A Cheese	The Miss Cheeses' private concert, 7 Westmoreland Street	<i>SNL</i> , 13 January 1807	14 January 1807
Concerto on the pedal harp	Dussek	Miss Almona Cheese	Mrs Cheese's seventh private weekly concert	<i>Hibernian Journal</i> , 4 March 1807	4 March 1807
Duet for pianoforte and harp	Dussek	Miss Cheese and Mrs Willis	Vocal concert under the patronage of the Lord Lieutenant at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 26 April 1814	22 April 1814
Grand duet on harp and flute	Bochsa	Miss Ashe and Mr Ashe	Mr and Mrs Ashe's concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 6 November 1815	7 November 1815
Duet pianoforte and harp	Latour	Mrs Willis and Miss Cheese	Vocal concert, Willis' Rooms, 7 Westmoreland Street	<i>SNL</i> , 29 February 1816	1 March 1816
Viva Enrico, duet for the harp and pf	Latour	Mrs Willis and Miss Cheese			
Air on the harp	Bochsa	Miss Cheese	Miss Stephens' concert at the Rotunda	<i>DEP</i> , 10 November	12 November 1818

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
Duet for pianoforte and harp	Dussek	Mrs Willis and Miss Cheese	Willis' Vocal concerts at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 4 March 1818	6 March 1818
Duet harp and pianoforte	P Knapton	Mrs Howard and Mr Walsh	Mrs Howard's concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 8 March 1822	9 March 1822
Nocturne on harp with violoncello obbligato	Bochsa	Mrs Howard and Mr Pigot			
Les follies d'Espagne with variations	Bochsa	Mrs Howard			
Concerto for the harp	Krumpholtz	Mrs Thorne	Mr Blewitt's benefit concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 23 March 1823	15 March 1823
Fantasia on the harp	Bochsa	Miss Kearns	Mr Kalkbrenner's morning concert at the Rotunda	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i> , 3 September 1824	6 September 1824
Favourite Notturmo for harp and violoncello	Bochsa	Miss Eliza Ashe and Mr Pigot	Mr and Mrs Ashe's concert at the mansion of Sir Capel and Lady Molyneux, Merrion Square	<i>Dublin Morning Register</i> , 4 May 1826	5 May 1826
Duet for two harps	Bochsa	Eliza and Cecelia Ashe (Cecelia's first appearance)	Mr and Mrs Ashe's concert at the Music Hall, Masonic Rooms	<i>DEP</i> , 2 June 1827	4 June 1827
Variations for the harp on "Rule Britannia"	Bochsa	G Connell	Mr Schunke's concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 30 January 1827	31 January 1827
Fantasia on the harp	Bochsa	Eliza Ashe	Madame Pasta's concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 28 August 1827	28 August 1827
Favourite Quartetto from the opera of Semiramide by Rossini	Bochsa	Miss Eliza Ashe	Mr and Mrs Ashe's private concert of vocal and instrumental music at their residence, Ely Place	<i>SNL</i> , 4 January 1828	4 January 1828
Fantasia on the harp	Bochsa	Miss Eliza Ashe	Mr Cramer's concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 28 January 1828	1 February 1828
Divertimento for the harp and pf on Rule Britannia	Labarre	Miss Ashe and her sister	Mr Magrath's concert at the Rotunda	<i>DEP</i> , 16 February 1828	15 February 1828
'Solo harp'	Bochsa	Eliza Ashe	Mrs Ashe's concert, the Musical Hall, Tuckey Street, Cork	<i>SRCCC</i> , 12 August 1828	14 August 1828
A grand fantasia on the harp	Bochsa	Mr Taylor, pupil of Bochsa*	Mr Sinclair's benefit at the Theatre Royal	<i>SNL</i> , 16 August 1828	16 August 1828
Grand Air and Variations on "Cease your funning"	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe	Mr Labarre's concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 16 January 1829	16 January 1829
Fantasia Irlandoise	Labarre	Miss Eliza Ashe	Mr Forde's concert at the Theatre Royal, Cork	<i>SRCCC</i> , 15 October 1829	16 October 1829

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
Fantasia on 'My lodging is on the cold ground' and 'St Patrick's Day' (Fantasia Irlandaise)	Labarre	Boleyne Reeves	Mr Forde's concert at the Theatre Royal, Cork	CC, 11 November 1830	
Fantasia Irlandaise	Labarre	Miss C Ashe	The Misses Ashe's concert at the Rotunda	FJ, 5 May 1831	6 May 1831
Erin's grand bardic effusions & Variations on the harp to Weber's celebrated waltz	Bochsa	Miss Cecelia Ashe	The Misses Ashe's annual concert at the Rotunda	SNL, 30 April 1832	30 April 1832
The Imps' March and Fantasia on the harp in which will be introduced Bochsa's New Harp Effects	Bochsa	Miss Cecelia Ashe	Mrs Ashe's concert, Mr Hickie's New Ballroom, Bridge St, Patrick's Hil, Cork	CC, 23 October 1832	25 October 1832
Grand new fantasia on the harp and the Imps' March in which will be introduced, for the first time in Dublin, Bochsa's New Harp Effects	Bochsa	Miss Cecelia Ashe	The Misses Ashe's morning concert, Ely Place	SNL, 22 November 1832	27 November 1832
Fantasia on Weber's last waltz	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe	Philharmonic Society Concert, last gala concert of the season	DEP, 23 May 1833	22 May 1833
Solo harp in which will be introduced Bochsa's "New Harp Effects"	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe	The Misses Ashe's concert at Mayoralty House, Drogheda	Drogheda Journal, 31 August 1833	5 September 1833
A fantasia on the harp in which will be introduced an Air with brilliant variations displaying Bochsa's "New Harp Effects"	Bochsa	Mrs Harrington	Mr Forde's benefit at the Theatre Royal, Cork	SRCCC, 10 September 1833	12 September 1833
Solo harp with full orchestral accompaniments	Bochsa	Mrs Harrington	Signora d'Alberti's concert at the Imperial Clarence Hotel, Cork	SRCCC, 28 September 1833	1 October 1833
Grand Fantasia	Labarre	Miss C Ashe	The Misses Ashe's concert at the Assembly Rooms Belfast	NW, 23 September 1833	26 September 1833
Solo harp in which will be introduced Bochsa's "New Harp Effects"	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe			
Erin's Bardic Effusions in which she introduced Bochsa's "New Harp Effects"	Bochsa	Miss E Ashe	Philharmonic Society, first Ladies' concert at the Rotunda	Dublin Evening Mail, 20 December 1833	18 December 1833
Fantasia on Irish airs	Labarre	Miss C Ashe	Henri Herz' Grand Concert at the Rotunda	Dublin Morning Register, 5 November 1834	5 November 1834

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
Bochsa's celebrated overture for six harps	Bochsa	Miss Fanny Ashe, Miss C Ashe, Mrs Gregory, Mr Lewis, Mr D Lewis, Alexander de Pothonier Miss C Ashe	The Misses Ashe's annual concert at the Rotunda	SNL, 31 January 1835	6 February 1835
Grand introduction and variations to "Non piu mesta"	Bochsa				
Harp solo in which is introduced a familiar Irish air	Lewis	Mr Lewis	Mr Lewis' concert at the Rotunda	<i>Dublin Morning Register</i> , 29 April 1835	28 April 1835
Air with variations on the harp	Bochsa	Miss Cheese	Miss Cheese's concert at the Rotunda	SNL, 1 May 1835	1 May 1835
Variations Concertante on the harp and flute	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe and Mr Wilkinson	Signor Castro's concert at the Commercial Buildings, Dame Street	SNL, 16 May 1835	16 May 1835
Solo harp	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe	The Misses Ashe's concert, 29 Upper Merrion St, Dublin	SNL, 29 May 1835	30 May 1835
Grand duet for harp and flute	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe and Mr Wilkinson			
Romance with variations from the opera "Josefh"	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe	Mr Hickey's Rooms, Cork	SRCCC, 26 September 1835	29 September 1835
Duet for harp and flute	Bochsa and Toulou	?			
Fantasia for the harp "Ombre Adorata"	Labarre	Miss C Ashe		CC, 29 September 1835	29 September 1835*not listed in programme from SRCCC
Fantasia on the harp	Labarre	Miss C Ashe	The Misses Ashe's concert at the Northumberland Rooms, Limerick	<i>Limerick Chronicle</i> , 7 October 1835	8 October 1835
The Imps' March in which will be introduced Bochsa's "New Harp Effects"	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe			
Mossaique Musicale	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe	The Misses Ashe's annual concert at the Rotunda	SNL, 9 March 1836	9 March 1836
Concertante fantastica for harp and flute	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe and Mr Wilkinson			
Bardic Effusions with orchestral accompaniments	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe	Mr Pigot's concert at the Rotunda	SNL, 22 March 1836	23 March 1836

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
Fantasia on the harp "Bardic Effusions" with orchestral accompaniments	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe	James Barton's grand concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 9 May 1836	10 May 1836
Mosaïque Musicale, introducing all the harp effects	Bochsa	Miss Ashe	Henri Herz' concert at the Rotunda	<i>Dublin Morning Register</i> , 31 October 1836	1 November 1836
'Solo harp'	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe	Mr Lewis' concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 26 April 1836	28 April 1836
Morceau Ossianique for eight harps, introducing a favourite Irish melody	Bochsa	Miss Ashe, Miss F Ashe, Miss C Ashe, Mr Pothonier, G.F. Conran, Miss Jackson, Miss Cheese	Bochsa's morning concert at the Rotunda	<i>DEP</i> , 10 January 1837 (Note performers listed in <i>FJ</i> , 11 January 1837)	13 January 1837
Bardic Effusions	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe	Mr Pigott's Grand Concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 20 February 1837	20 February 1837
'Solo harp'	Bochsa	Mr D.G. Lewis			
Fantasia on the Greek chorus from The Siege of Corinth	Labarre	Miss C Ashe	Mr Thalberg's concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 16 December 1837	16 December 1837
Mossaique musicale, fantasia on the harp Concertante fantastica	Bochsa Bochsa & Toulou	Miss C Ashe Miss C Ashe and Mr Wilkinson	The Misses Ashe's concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 9 March 1836	9 March 1838
Bardic Effusions, fantasia on the harp	Bochsa	Miss C Ashe	James Barton's Grand Concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 9 May 1838	10 May 1838
Air on the harp	Labarre	Miss Cheese	Miss Cheese's concert at the Rotunda	<i>DEP</i> , 26 May 1838	29 May 1838
Solo harp	Bochsa	?	Mr and Mr James' concert at the Columbine Rooms, Cove	<i>SRCCC</i> , 13 September 1838	17 September 1838
Grand overture for harp, piano and bass	Bochsa	?			
Overture for harp, piano, flute and bass	Bochsa	?			
Solo harp	Labarre	G.F. Conran			
Duet for harp and pianoforte	Bochsa	Miss Cheese and Mr W.S. Conran	Miss Cheese's concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 16 May 1839	16 May 1839
Air on the harp	Donizetti	Miss Cheese			

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
Mossaique Musicale	Bochsa	G.F. Conran	Mr W.S. Conran's concert at the Assembly Rooms, Waterford	<i>The Waterford Mail</i> , 24 July 1839	22 July 1839
Souvenir of Sir Walter Scott	Bochsa	Mr D.G. Lewis	Mr Lewis' concert at the Rotunda	<i>DMR</i> , 13 June 1839	13 June 1839
Solo harp "Mosaïque"	Bochsa	Mr G.F. Conran	Grand concert at the Rotunda in aid of the Lying-in hospital	<i>SNL</i> , 9 September 1839	9 September 1839
'Harp solo'	Bochsa	D.G. Lewis	Mr Lewis' concert at the Rotunda	<i>Dublin Morning Register</i> , 13 June 1840	12 June 1840 *note Signor Sapio and Catherine Hayes (his student) also performed at this concert
Grand and brilliant variations on the march in "Othello"	Bochsa	D.G. Lewis	Mr Lewis' concert at the Rotunda	<i>DMR</i> , 10 May 1841	11 May 1841 *note Signor Sapio and Catherine Hayes
Duet for harp and pf from Bellini's Norma	Bochsa	Miss Cheese and Mrs E.C. Allen	Miss E.C. Allen's annual concert at her residence, 5 Gardiner's Row	<i>DEP</i> , 12 March 1842	15 March 1842
Duet for harp and pianoforte	?	Miss Theodosia Allen (her first performance as a harpist)	Pianoforte concerts at Mrs E.C. Allen's Academy, 5 Gardiner's Row	<i>DEP</i> , 26 April 1842	22 and 23 April 1842
Irish Airs	Lewis	Mr Lewis	Mr Lewis' concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 7 June 1843	9 June 1843
Fantasia on the harp (first time in this country)	Parish Alvars	Mr D.G. Lewis			
Fantasia on the harp	J.B. Chatterton	Theodosia Allen	Miss E.C. Allen's annual concert at her residence, 5 Gardiner's Row	<i>DEP</i> , 6 April 1844	9 April 1844
Brilliant duet for harp and pf	Bochsa	Mrs Allen and Theodosia Allen			
Fantasia on Deh non feorer	Bochsa	D.G. Lewis	Mr Lewis' concert at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 4 June 1844	5 June 1844
God save the King and Rule Britannia duet for harp and pf	Labarre	Miss Allen and Miss Theodosia Allen	Mrs E.C. Allen's concert, 5 Gardiner's Row	<i>DEP</i> , 8 April 1845	1 April 1845
Duet for harp and pianoforte on a theme from William Tell	Bochsa	Theodosia Allen and Miss Allen	Mrs E.C. Allen's annual concert at her residence, 5 Gardiner's Row	<i>DEP</i> , 18 April 1846	14 April 1846
A selection of Irish airs	?	Theodosia Allen			
Fantasia Irlandoise	Bochsa	Theodosia Allen	Mrs E.C. Allen's annual concert at her residence, 5 Gardiner's Row	<i>DEP</i> , 24 April 1848	25 April 1848
Grand Concertante duet for harp and pf on subjects from Donizetti's Lucia di Lamermoor	Parish Alvars	Theodosia and Frederica Allen	Miss E.C. Allen's annual concert at her residence, 5 Gardiner's Row	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i> , 24 April 1848	25 April 1848
Duet for two harps "The Witches' March"	Bochsa	Miss Cheese and Miss Theodosia Allen	Mrs Allen's subscription concerts, 5 Gardiner's Row, Rutland Square	<i>FJ</i> , 4 May 1849	4 May 1849

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
"Coronation duet" for harp and pianoforte, dedicated to Queen Victoria	Labarre and Herz	Miss Theodosia Allen and Miss Allen			
Harp solo - The Coulin with variations	?	Mr Jones	Mr J.J. Gaskin's vocal and instrumental concert at the Theatre of the Dublin Mechanics Institute	<i>Dublin Weekly Nation</i> , 2 March 1850	4 March 1850
Harp solo – Irish air	?	Mr Jones			
Fantasia	Parish Alvars	Mr R Levey Junior	Round Room, Rotunda, Grand Promenade Concert for the benefit of the members of the Theatre Royal Orchestra	<i>SNL</i> , 2 July 1855	2 July 1855
The Imps' March	Bochsa	Mary Jane Glover	Professor Glover's lecture at the Royal Irish Institution	<i>Commercial Journal</i> , 12 January 1856	7 January 1856
A selection of Irish airs	?	Mary Jane Glover	Professor Glover's third lecture at the Royal Irish Institution	<i>Commercial Journal</i> , 26 January 1856	21 January 1856
La danse des fées	Parish Alvars	Mary Jane Glover	Professor Glover's fourth lecture at the RII, College Street	<i>Commercial Journal</i> , 16 February 1856	11 February 1856
The Last Rose of Summer	?	Mary Jane Glover			
La danse des Fées	Parish Alvars	Mary Jane Glover	Professor Glover's Vocal Concerts at the Royal Irish Institution, College Street	<i>Commercial Journal</i> , 22 November 1856	18 November 1856
La danse des Fées	Parish Alvars	Mary Jane Glover	Dublin Madrigal Society concert, ACR	<i>Dublin Mercantile Advertiser</i> , 13 March 1857	9 March 1857
Bardic Effusions	Bochsa	Mary Jane Glover	Professor Glover's lecture on English Minstrelsy at the Royal Irish Institution on College Street	<i>DEP</i> , 30 April 1857	29 April 1857
Bardic Effusions	Bochsa	Mary Jane Glover	The Dublin Madrigal Society's last concert of the season	<i>DDE</i> , 28 April 1858	4 May 1858
Airs from Lucia di Lamermoor, duet for harp and pf Scotch melodies arranged for the harp and pianoforte	Bochsa Bochsa	Loreto students	Annual distribution of prizes at Loreto convent, Fermoy	<i>Cork Examiner</i> , 1 August 1859	26 July 1859
The Last Rose of Summer, accompanied by the harp	?				
Osborne Quadrilles by S Glover, arranged for the harp and pianoforte	J.B. Chatterton				

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
Aria "Deserta sula tera" from Il Trovatore, arranged as a duet for the harp and pianoforte	G Taylor				
Souvenance Romantique d'Irlande and d'Ecosse duet for harp and pf	Bochsa	Loreto students	Concert at Loreto Convent, Fermoy, Cork	<i>Cork Examiner</i> , 25 July 1862	23 July 1862
L'echo de L'opera No. 3	Oberthür	Loreto students	Lunchtime concert at Loreto Convent, Fermoy	<i>Cork Examiner</i> , 5 August 1865	31 July 1865
L'echo de L'opera No. 2	Oberthür	Loreto students			
Duet for harp and pianoforte	Bochsa	Loreto students	Concert at Loreto convent, Fermoy	<i>Cork Examiner</i> , 26 July 1866	25 July 1866
Duet from Lucrezia Borgia for harp and pf	Bochsa	?	Rehearsal for a concert at the Athenaeum, Cork	<i>SRCCC</i> , 15 January 1868	14 January 1868, concert to be held 15 January
Fantasia from "Martha"	Oberthür	Miss Cooper	Grand concert in aid of the library funds of the Limerick Protestant Young Men's Association (location not given)	<i>Limerick Chronicle</i> , 22 February 1868	20 February 1868
Songs from the Emerald Isle	Aptommas	Emilie Glover	Second Grand National Concert of Irish Music at the Exhibition Palace	<i>SNL</i> , 20 June 1868	23 June 1868
Songs from the Emerald Isle	Aptommas	Emilie Glover	Grand Conversazione at the Rotunda	<i>SNL</i> , 5 December 1868	10 December 1868
La danse des fées	Parish Alvars	Emilie Glover	Emilie Glover's harp and vocal recitals, 14 Talbot Street	<i>SNL</i> , 23 February 1869	23 February 1869
I saw from the beach, arr.	Joseph Robinson	Emilie Glover	Dublin Glee and Madrigal Union Concert at the Exhibition Palace	<i>FJ</i> , 14 May 1869	17 May 1869
Recollections of Ireland Sounds from the Emerald Isle	Glover Aptommas	Emilie Glover Emilie Glover			
Harp solo	Oberthür	Emilie Glover	Harp and vocal concerts at the Exhibition Palace	<i>SNL</i> , 22 December 1869	23 December 1869
Hymn aus Stradella, duet for the harp and violoncello	Flotow	Emilie Glover and Herr Elsner			
Erin, duet for harp and pianoforte	Emilie Glover	Emilie Glover and Professor Glover	Harp and vocal concerts at the Exhibition Palace (first of two concerts)	<i>SNL</i> , 20 December 1869	20 December 1869
Irish fantasia	Aptommas	Emilie Glover			

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
Duet for harp and pianoforte "Erin"	Emilie Glover	Mrs Mackey and Professor Glover	Grand Concert at the ACR	<i>FJ</i> , 7 June 1870	7 June 1870
Duet for harp and pianoforte "Il Trovatore"	Taylor	Mrs Fitzgerald	Grand Amateur Concert in Cookstown	<i>Ulster Examiner</i> , 5 December 1872	3 December 1872
Solo harp "Comme gentil"	Taylor	Mrs Fitzgerald			
Solo harp on "Martha"	Oberthür	Mrs Mackey	Mrs Mackey's concert at the ACR	<i>FJ</i> , 24 November 1873	24 November 1873
Grand trio for the harp, violin and cello	Labarre	Mrs Mackey, Herr Barthman, Herr Elsner			
La danse des Fées	Parish Alvars	Mrs Mackey	Mr Lyons' concert in Wexford (venue not specified)	<i>IT</i> , 6 April 1875	6 April 1875
The Last Rose of Summer	?	Mrs Mackey	Grattan Memorial Concert, ACR	<i>IT</i> , 8 January 1876	6 January 1876
Duet for harp and piano	Oberthür	Students at Abercorn college	The Abercorn Ladies' "breaking up" concert in the college hall	<i>DEM</i> , 28 June 1876	27 June 1876
A selection of Irish airs	?	Emilie Grey and Mrs Mackey	National Music Festival at the Exhibition Palace organised by Professor Glover	<i>FJ</i> , 16 March 1877	15 March 1877
Airs from Martha	Oberthür	Mrs Mackey	Mr Bartley's first concert at the Rotunda	<i>FJ</i> , 15 July 1878	17 July 1878
La danse des Fées	Parish Alvars	Mrs Mackey	Mr Bartley's second concert at the Rotunda	<i>FJ</i> , 18 July 1878	18 July 1878
Turkish Parade March	Parish Alvars	Herr Sjoden			
Echoes of Erin for harp solo	Arr. Sjoden	Herr Sjoden		<i>IT</i> , 9 May 1879	8 May 1879
Transcription	Oberthür	Owen Lloyd			
Fantasia on Irish airs for harp and pianoforte	?	Mrs Mackey and Professor Glover			
Irish Planxties	?	Owen Lloyd			
Transcription of a Bohemian national air for the harp	Oberthür	Sjoden or Lloyd or Mrs Mackey? (not clear from programme)	Irish Harp Revival Festival at the Rotunda	<i>DDE</i> , 8 May 1879	8 May and 10 May 1879
Grand March for the harp	Parish Alvars	Sjoden or Lloyd?			
La danse des Fées, played as a duet for two harps	Parish Alvars	Herr Sjoden and Owen Lloyd	Herr Elsner's annual concert, location not specified	<i>IT</i> , 2 June 1879	30 May 1879
La danse des Fées	Parish Alvars	Mr Chesire (Professor of Harp at the RAM, London)	Belfast Choral Assoc, Harp concert at the Ulster Hall	<i>Northern Whig</i> , 10 January 1880	9 January 1880
Autumn	John Thomas	Emilie Grey			

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
La danse des Fées	Parish Alvars	Mrs Mackey	Grand benefit concert to Madame de la Vega Wilson at ACR	<i>IT</i> , 1 May 1880	3 May 1880
Duet for harp and piano “La Sonambula”	John Thomas	Mrs Mackey and her son, M. Mackey	Grand Concert, Exhibition Palace	<i>FJ</i> , 28 June 1881	30 June 1881
Home Sweet Home, arr.	Oberthür	Mrs Mackey			
Duet for harp and piano “La Sonambula”	John Thomas	Mrs Mackey and her son	A grand bazaar in aid of Dublin Orthopaedic Hospital at the Earlsford Terrace Skating Rink	<i>Dublin Daily Express</i> , 15 November 1881	24 November 1881
The Nun’s Prayer	Oberthür	Miss Fitzgerald	Concert of the Royal Hibernian Military School	<i>FJ</i> , 28 June 1882	26 June 1882
Home Sweet Home, arr.	Oberthür	Mrs Mackey	Exhibition Evening concert	<i>FJ</i> , 30 Oct 1882	28 Oct 1882
Variations on airs by Bellini	Parish Alvars	Owen Lloyd	The Belfast Choirs’ Concert in the Music Hall	<i>Northern Whig</i> , 4 April 1883	4 April 1883
Autumn	John Thomas	Mrs Fry of Boyle	Concert at the Town Hall, Sligo	<i>Sligo Independent</i> , 21 February 1885	16 February 1885
Irish airs on the harp	?	Mrs Fry			
St. Patrick’s Day	?	Owen Lloyd	Philo-Celtic Society Concert, Ulster Minor Hall	<i>Northern Whig</i> , 21 March 1885	20 March 1885
Carolan’s Concerto and War March of Brian Boromhe	?	Owen Lloyd	Dublin Popular Concerts, ACR	<i>IT</i> , 21 March 1885	21 March 1885
Fantasia on Irish airs	?	Owen Lloyd			
“Erin go Bragh” duet for harp and pf	Oberthür	Owen Lloyd and C.K. Irwin	Owen Lloyd’s Grand Matinée Musicale, 18 Harcourt Street	<i>FJ</i> , 12 April 1886	14 April 1886
La danse des Fées	Parish Alvars	Owen Lloyd	“	<i>FJ</i> , 15 April 1886	14 April 1886
La Source	Blumenthal	Owen Lloyd	Coffee Palace Popular Concerts, organised by Mrs Murphy, 18 Harcourt Street	<i>FJ</i> , 30 October 1886	30 October 1886
La danse des Sylphes	Godefroid	Owen Lloyd			
Harp Solo	Parish Alvars	Owen Lloyd	Lurgan Musical Society, Town Hall Lurgan	<i>Northern Whig</i> , 18 April 1885	17 April 1887
La danse des Sylphes	Godefroid	Owen Lloyd			
Fantasia on Irish airs	Lloyd	Owen Lloyd			
A study	John Thomas	Mademoiselle Clara Eissler	Dublin Popular Concerts, Leinster Hall	<i>FJ</i> , 14 November 1887	12 November 1887

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
La danse des sylphs	Godefroid				
La danse des sylphs	Godefroid	Clara Eissler*	Belfast Popular Concerts, Ulster Hall	<i>Belfast Newsletter</i> , 12 November 1887	11 November 1887
Study in F	John Thomas	Clare Eissler			
La danse des fées	Parish Alvars	Miss Good	Concert by Mrs Hunt's Ladies' Orchestra at Leinster Hall	<i>IT</i> , 26 August 1889	2 grand orchestral concerts each day for one week (does not specify dates)
Il Papagallo and a fantasia on Bellini's works	Parish Alvars	Owen Lloyd	Mr Lloyd's annual concert at the ACR	<i>FJ</i> , 30 January 1890	29 January 1890
Berceuse for harp and pf, arr.	Oberthür	Owen Lloyd and Mr Griffith			
Reverie	John Thomas	Josephine Sullivan	Miss Lizzie Connell's grand benefit concert, Assembly Rooms, Cork	<i>CC</i> , 5 April 1890	9 April 1890
Irish Melody and Welsh melody	John Thomas	Josephine Sullivan			
Air from Maritana	Bochsa	Miss K Allwright	Afternoon performance by students of the RIAM at the ACR	<i>Irish Society</i> , 17 May 1890	6 May 1890
Lied ohne worte	Oberthür	Miss D Bloom			
La danse des Sylphes	Godefroid	Mabel Martin	Mrs Scott-Ffennell's concert at ACR	<i>FJ</i> , 20 May 1890	19 May 1890
The Last Rose of Summer	?	Mabel Martin			
"Watching the Wheat"	John Thomas	Josephine Sullivan	The Ludwig Concerts, Leinster Hall, Dublin	<i>Dublin Daily Express</i> , 15 September 1890	15 September 1890
Romance	Parish Alvars	Edith Davis	Concert in aid of the Zenana mission and medical training fund, Belfast (unknown location), given by the 'Windsor Congregation'	<i>Belfast Newsletter</i> , 22 February 1894	21 February 1894
"Ballade" and "March"	Hasselmans	Edith Davis			
La danse des Fées	Parish Alvars	Owen Lloyd	Grand instrumental and vocal concerts in the Christian schools, Enniscorthy, Wexford	<i>Wexford People</i> , 21 January 1888	1 February 1888

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
La danse des Sylphes	Godefroid	Owen Lloyd			
Berceuse for harp and violin	Oberthür	Owen Lloyd and Mr Griffiths			
La Priere for harp and violin	Oberthür	Owen Lloyd and Mr Griffiths			
Harp solo "Irish selection"	?	Owen Lloyd			
Le Desir for harp and violin	Oberthür	Owen Lloyd and Mr Griffiths	Grand instrumental and vocal concerts in the Christian schools, Enniscorthy, Wexford	<i>Wexford People</i> , 1 February 1888	2 February 1888
La danse des fées	Parish Alvars	Owen Lloyd			2 February 1888
La source	Blumenthal	Owen Lloyd			
La danse des sylphes	Godefroid	Miss Devine	Grand Concert, Assembly Rooms, Bray	<i>Wicklow People</i> , 7 January 1893	3 January 1893
Reminiscences for harp and pf	Bochsa	The Misses Shiels	Coleraine Elocution Class, annual competitions and concert in the town hall	<i>Northern Constitution</i> , 10 March 1894	7 March 1894
Irish and Welsh melodies	Oberthür	Josephine Sullivan	Grand concert, conducted by R.P. Stewart (location not specified)	<i>DDE</i> , 8 February 1890	11 February 1890
Irish melodies: The Last Rose of Summer, Garryowen, Silent O Moyle, Fly not yet, The Valley lay smiling, The Bard's Legacy, Let Erin Remember, I'd mourn the hopes	?	Owen Lloyd	Banquet to Surgeon Parke at the Shelbourne Hotel	<i>DDE</i> , 17 June 1890	16 June 1890
La danse des Fées	Parish Alvars	Owen Lloyd			
La danse des Sylphes	Godefroid	Owen Lloyd			
La danse des Fées	Parish Alvars	Josephine Sullivan	Soirée musicale at the RIAM	<i>IT</i> , 29 September 1891	28 September 1891
La danse des sylphs	Godefroid	Miss Annie Devine	Distribution of certificates to candidates successful at the local centre examinations, Lecture Theatre of the RDS	<i>DDE</i> , 26 November 1891	25 November 1891
La danse des Sylphes	Godefroid	Josephine Sullivan	Dublin Printers' concert, Leinster Hall	<i>IT</i> , 12 December 1891	5 December 1891
Fantasia Irlandaise	Oberthür	Josephine Sullivan	The second grand concert of the Downpatrick Musical Society at the Assembly Hall	<i>Northern Whig</i> , 25 March 1892	23 March 1892
La danse des Fées	Parish Alvars	Josephine Sullivan	Belfast Popular concerts	<i>Northern Whig</i> , 20 February 1892	19 February 1892
Murmuring waves *should be water*	Oberthür	Josephine Sullivan			

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
The Last Rose of Summer	?	Josephine Sullivan			
Murmuring Waters	Oberthür	Josephine Sullivan	Dublin Popular Concerts, Leinster Hall (the fourth popular concert of the series)	<i>FJ</i> , 22 February 1892	20 February 1892
La danse des Sylphes	Godefroid	Owen Lloyd	Masonic Concert in Lurgan Town Hall	<i>Belfast Newsletter</i> , 18 February 1893	17 February 1893
Fantasia on Irish airs	?	Owen Lloyd			
Fantasia for four harps on national airs	Oberthür	Pupils of Loreto	Pupils' concert at Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham	<i>FJ</i> , 7 April 1893	6 April and 4 April 1893
Concerto Opus 175	Oberthür	Josephine Sullivan			
La danse des Fées	Parish Alvars	A young lady			
Il Papagallo	Parish Alvars	Phyllis Paul	Afternoon performance of a new monthly series of concerts at RIAM	<i>Irish Society</i> , 2 December 1893	22 November 1893
Il Pensiero Affettuoso	Palloni	Phyllis Paul	RIAM pupils' afternoon concert	<i>Irish Society</i> , 2 June 1894	24 May 1894
Irish airs	?	Owen Lloyd	Grand concert at the Courthouse, Dungannon	<i>Irish News and Belfast Morning News</i> , 14 May 1894	13 May 1894
Fantasia	John Thomas	Owen Lloyd			
"Dinorah" duet for harp and pf	Oberthür	Owen Lloyd and Miss Mulvaney			
La Cascade	Oberthür	Miss Davis	Annual conversazione of the Y.M.C.A, Ballymoney	<i>Ballymoney Free Press and Northern Counties Advertiser</i> , 28 February 1895	22 February 1895
Irish airs	?	Miss Davis			
La Cascade	Oberthür	Edith Davis	Saturday Popular Concerts at the Ulster Hall	<i>Belfast Newsletter</i> , 25 February 1895	23 February 1895
Fantasia on "Maritana"	Oberthür	Annie Fagan	Catholic Commercial Club concert in the hall attached to the club (location not specified)	<i>Dublin Evening Telegraph</i> , 19 March 1895	18 March 1895
"Overture"	Oberthür	Miss Davis	Miscellaneous concert at the Grosvenor Hall, Belfast	<i>Northern Whig</i> , 6 April 1895	5 April 1895
La danse des Sylphes	Godefroid	Miss Devine	The Literary, Dramatic and Musical Society, Large Hall of the XL Café on Grafton Street	<i>Dublin Evening Herald</i> , 18 December 1896	17 December 1896

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
Duet for harp and pianoforte "Un ballo in maschera"	Oberthür	?	Grand Concert at the Leinster Hall by the inmates of St Mary's Blind Asylum	<i>FJ</i> , 17 October 1896	21 October 1896
Quartett for harps and pianos	Oberthür	?			
Graziella	Oberthür	Miss Halligan	Concert at Abercorn College where pupils going through musical instruction	<i>DDE</i> , 2 July 1896	31 June 1896
Romance	Parish Alvars	Josephine Sullivan	Harp and song recital at the Imperial Hotel, Cork	<i>CC</i> , 17 February 1896	15 February 1896
Reverie	John Thomas	Josephine Sullivan			
Irish airs: I wish I were on yonder hill, the Coulin, Savourneen Deelish, the Last Rose of Summer		Josephine Sullivan			
"Sylvana"	Oberthür	Christina O Farrell	Entertainment at the Ursuline Convent, Waterford	<i>Waterford Chronicle</i> , 2 January 1897	
Duet for two harps "Amadis"	Oberthür	Names not listed	Concert by the inmates of St. Mary's Blind Asylum, Round Room, Rotunda	<i>Irish Independent</i> , 21 October 1897	21 October 1897
Study in G flat (note key of G flat proves pedal harp)	? (Note that John Thomas composed a Study No. 4 in G flat)	Josephine Sullivan	Complimentary concert to Miss Josephine Sullivan and Miss Helen Halmilton Croft, ACR	<i>Dublin Daily Nation</i> , 24 October 1898	22 October 1898
Irish Airs: My Gentle Harp, Go where Glory waits thee, The harp that once, The snowy breasted pearl	?	Josephine Sullivan			
Romance	Parish Alvars	Edith Martin	Mr H.B. Phillips' second subscription concert in the Guildhall, Derry	<i>Derry Journal</i> , 20 January 1899	19 January 1899
Serenade Aragonaise	Godefroid	Annie Fagan	St Teresa's Temperance Association concert, ACR	<i>Dublin Daily Nation</i> , 8 February 1899	7 February 1899
Ballade	Hasselmans	Annie Fagan			
Irish airs	?	Phyllis Paul	Drogheda District Nursing Association, Grand Annual Concert	<i>Drogheda Independent</i> , 18 November 1899	27 November 1899
La danse des sylphs	Godefroid	Owen Lloyd	Monthly conversazione of the National Literary Society, 6 St. Stephen's Green	<i>Dublin Daily Nation</i> , 13 December 1899	11 December 1899

Repertoire	Composer	Harpist	Concert details	Publication	Concert date
Harp Solo, Irish airs	Oberthür	Edith Davis (note pupil of Oberthür)	Grand Patriotic Concert at the Ulster Hall	<i>Belfast Newsletter</i> , 9 March 1900	22 March 1900